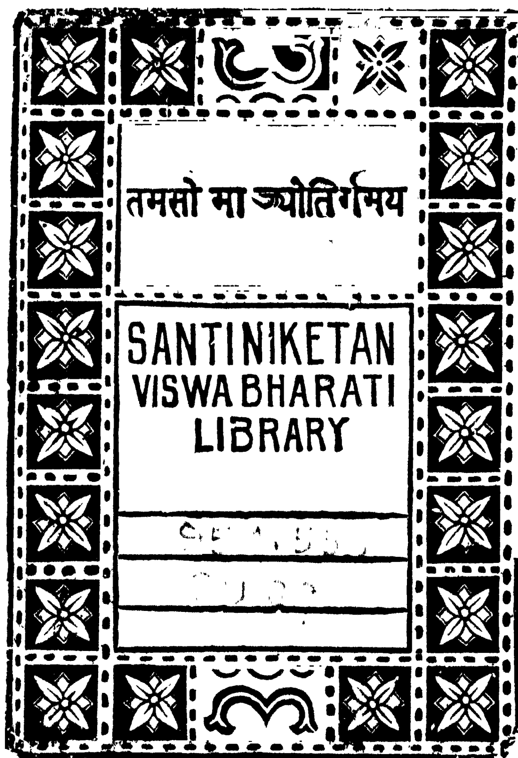

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On to ......Delhi

23 Enthralling Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose

Edited by

K. M. Tamhankar





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THE 'AZAD' SECOND FRONT

In the Second World-War, Desh Gaurava Subhas Chandra Bose, achieved for himself, a unique position, in the thrilling history of the Independence of our Mother India !

The student of history has now, unfortunately to look to that daring and dashing venture *as past history !*

Still it is the latest venture, of rare patriotic fervour, in the fight for the independence of our country and had gained, within a very short period, such a tremendous momentum, and strategic importance that it will be written in letters of gold in the current National history of our country !

The name of Netaji Subhas, has caught the imagination of every house-hold in India, as a magic national Mantra !

What is the force behind this Mantra ? Is it not *the Azad Second Front* that Netaji created, by means of his unique Azad Hind Fauj and the Azad Hind organization, in the East Asia region, in the last world-war ?

The Twenty-three speeches of Netaji Subhas Bose, presented to the reader, in the following pages, will speak for themselves ! These speeches illuminate with a flood of light, *the dynamically noble personality of Netaji Subhas,* as the Commander-in-Chief of the Azad

Hind army, and as the unparalleled 'Supreme leader' of millions of Indians, in the East Asian war-front.

How we came across these invaluable speeches, in detail, is partially revealed, in the foreword of the last publication of this type named 'Chalo Delhi'. It was a treasure, left at our doors from his tattered kit, by a simple Indian, recently repatriated to Mother India, from the East Asiatic region !

It is hoped that the reader will cherish this treasure, not only as a study of recent history, but as a sacred and inspiring memorial of the latest battle for independence!

Has any nation in the world-history won its freedom without fight ?

'*On to Delhi*' is Netaji's pointer in the pages that follow !

K. M. TAMHANKAR

Bombay, 9th August, 1946

Jaya Hind *Jaya Hind* *Jaya Hind*

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GANDHIJI'S PART IN INDIA'S FIGHT

Broadcast Address from Bangkok,
delivered on 2nd Oct. '43

This day, Indians all over the world are celebrating the 75th birthday anniversary of their greatest leader, Mahatma Gandhi. It is customary on such an occasion to relate the life-experiences of the man whom we honour and to whom we pay our homage of love and respect. But the Indian people are so well-acquainted with the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi that it would be an insult to their intelligence, if I were to begin narrating the facts of his life. I shall, instead devote myself to an estimation of the place of Mahatmaji in the History of India's struggle for Independence. The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letters of gold in our National History—for all time.

In order to correctly estimate Mahatma Gandhi's place in Indian History, it is necessary to take a bird's-eye-view of the British conquest of India. You all know that when the British first set foot on Indian soil, India was a land flowing with milk and honey and it was the wealth of India which had attracted poverty-stricken English-men from across the seas. Today we find that as a result of political enslavement

and economic exploitation the Indian people are dying of hunger and starvation, while the British people who were once so poor and needy, have grown fat and rich on the wealth and resources of India. Through sorrow and suffering, humiliation and torture, the Indian people have learnt at long last, that the only solution of their manifold problem is the recovery of their lost liberty.

Turning to the methods of the British conquest of India, we see that the British never attempted to fight the entire Indian population in any part of the country, nor did they try to conquer and occupy the whole of India at once. On the contrary, they always tried to win over a section of the people, through bribery and corruption, before they commenced military operations. This was the case in Bengal, where the Commander-in-Chief, Mir Jaffar, was won over by the British, by offering him the throne of Bengal. At that time the religious or communal problem was unknown in India. The last independent King of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Dowla, who was a Muslim, was betrayed by his Commander-in-Chief, who was also a Muslim—and it was the Hindu Commander, Mohanlal, who fought with Siraj-ud-Dowla, till the very last. The lesson that we have learnt from this episode in Indian History is, that unless timely steps are taken to prevent and to punish treachery, no nation can hope to preserve its independence. The developments in Bengal did not unfortunately open the eyes of the Indian people in time. If even after the fall of Siraj-ud-Dowla in Bengal, the Indian people had made common cause against the

British, they would have easily succeeded in throwing the unwanted foreigner out of Indian soil. No one can say that the Indian people did not fight in order to retain their freedom—but they did not fight all together. When the British attacked Bengal, nobody attacked them from behind. When later on, the British fought Tippu Sultan in South India, neither the Marathas in Central India nor the Sikhs in the North came to the rescue of Tippu Sultan. Even after the fall of Bengal, it was still possible to overthrow the British, through the combination of Tippu Sultan in the South, the Marathas in Central India and the Sikhs in the North. Unfortunately for us this was not done. It was, therefore, possible for the British to attack one part of India at a time and gradually extend their rule over the whole country. The lesson that we have learned from this painful chapter of Indian History is, that unless the Indian people stand united before the enemy, they will never be able to achieve their independence, nor will they be able to preserve it even if they acquire it.

It took a long time to open the eyes of the Indian people. Ultimately in 1857, they woke up and they then made a concerted attack on the British in different parts of the country. When the fight began—the fight that the British historians call "The Sepoy Mutiny" and we call the "First War of Independence"—the British were easily defeated at first. But two factors accounted for our ultimate failure. All parts of India did not join in the fight ; and what is more significant, the technical skill of our army commanders was inferior

to that of the commanders of the enemy forces. It is a fact that Europe had made considerable progress in the art of modern warfare in the 18th and 19th centuries and the Indian people had not kept abreast of the times. Consequently, when the final clash with the British forces took place, our army leaders were found wanting. The lesson that we have learnt from our failure in 1857 is that, in future, the Indian people must keep up intimate contact with the progress made by other nations in every walk of life, especially in the art of warfare.

After the defeat in 1857, the Indian people were disarmed by the British. It was the greatest folly and mistake on their part to submit to disarmament at the time. If the Indians had not been disarmed and thereby rendered helpless, it would have been possible for them to strike for their liberty once again, within a short period of time. Owing to the disarmament, however, the Indian people remained politically prostrate and despondent for nearly thirty years. Ultimately in 1885, a political awakening took place through the birth of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress was in the beginning a moderate body. The leaders of the Congress were at first afraid of demanding complete independence and the severance of the British connection. Within a brief span of 20 years, however, new life was infused into the Congress. By 1905, we find leaders like Aravinda Ghosh demanding complete independence for India. Along with this demand for independence more extreme methods were adopted for achieving liberty. In Bengal, boycott of

British goods was adopted as a retaliation against the partition of the province and this method of boycott was gradually taken up all over India. Not content with economic boycott, Indian youths next took the cult of the bomb and the revolver. A number of youths were sent abroad to learn revolutionary sabotage in Paris and other European centres, while Indian youths as a whole began to study the revolutionary methods adopted in other parts of the world—notably in Russia and Ireland.

During the last World War, the Indian leaders were duped by false promises made by unscrupulous British politicians and, as a result, India's blood and money were poured out in the service of Britain and in order to strengthen the chains of India's bondage. It must, however, be said to the eternal honour of the Indian revolutionaries that they did not allow themselves to be deceived by Britain and they did their very best to work up a revolution in the country. But unfortunately for India, they failed.

When the last World War was over and the Indian leaders began to demand the liberty that had been promised to them, they discovered for the first time, they had been betrayed by perfidious Albion, i.e., the British people and their politicians. The reply to their demand came in the form of the Rowlatt Act—or the Black Act—in 1919, which deprived of what little liberty they still possessed. And when they protested against that Black Act—the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre followed. For all the sacrifices made by the Indian people during the last World War, the two rewards

were—the Rowlatt Act and the J. B. massacre.

After the above tragic events in 1919, Indian people were stunned and paralysed for the time being. All the attempts for achieving liberty had been ruthlessly crushed by the British and their armed forces. Constitutional agitation, boycott of British goods, armed revolution—all had alike failed to bring freedom. There was not a ray of hope left and the Indian people, though their hearts were burning with indignation, were groping in the dark for a new method and a new weapon of struggle. Just at this psychological moment, Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene with his novel method of Non-co-operation and Satyagraha or Civil Disobedience. It appeared as if he had been sent by Providence to show the path to liberty. Immediately and spontaneously the whole nation rallied round his banner. India was saved. Every Indian's face was now lit up with hope and confidence. Ultimate victory was once again assured.

For 20 years and more Mahatma Gandhi has worked for India's salvation, and with him, the Indian people too have worked. *It is no exaggeration to say that if, in 1920, he had not come forward with his new weapon of struggle, India today would perhaps have been still prostrate. His services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in one single lifetime under similar circumstances.* The nearest historical parallel to Mahatma Gandhi is perhaps Mustapha Kemal who saved Turkey after her defeat in the last World War and who was then acclaimed by the Turks

as the "Gazi".

Since 1920 Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi which are the indispensable pre-conditions for the attainment of independence. They have, first of all, learnt national self-respect and self-confidence—as a result of which, revolutionary fervour is now blazing in their hearts. Secondly, they have now got a country-wide organisation which reaches the remotest villages of India. Now that the message of liberty has permeated the hearts of all Indians and they have got a country-wide political organisation representing the whole nation—the stage is set for the final struggle for liberty—last war of independence.

It is not in India alone that a struggle for freedom has been heralded by a spiritual awakening. In the risorgmento movement in Italy, was Mazzini who first gave the spiritual inspiration to the Italian people. He was then followed by the fighter and the hero—Garibaldi, who began the 'March to Rome' at the head of one thousand armed volunteers. In modern Ireland, too, the Sinn Fein Party, when it was born in 1906, gave the Irish people a programme which was very much similar to Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation programme of 1920. Ten years after the birth of the Sinn Fein Party—that is, in 1916—the first armed revolution in Ireland took place.

Mahatma Gandhi has firmly planted our feet on the straight road to liberty. He and other leaders are now rotting behind the prison bars. The task that Mahatma Gandhi began has, therefore, to be accomplished by his countrymen—at home and abroad.

Indians at home have everything that they need for the final struggle—but they lack one thing—an army of liberation. That army of liberation has to be supplied from without—and it can be supplied only from without.

I would like to remind you that when Mahatma Gandhi commended his Non-co-operation programme to the Indian nation at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in November 1920, he said, "If India has the sword today, she would have drawn the sword." And proceeding further with his argument, Mahatma Gandhi then said that since armed revolution was out of the question, the only other alternative before the country was that of Non-co-operation or Satyagraha. Since then times have changed and it is now possible for the Indian people to draw the sword. We are happy and proud that India's Army of liberation has already come into existence and is steadily increasing in numbers. We have, on the one hand, to complete the training of this army and send it to the field of battle, as soon as possible. We have simultaneously, to build up a new army that can go on reinforcing the army in the field. The final struggle for liberty will be long and hard and we must go on fighting—till the last Britisher in India is either cast in prison or thrown out of the country. I would like to warn you that after our Army of Liberation—the Azad Hind Fouj or the Indian National Army—sets foot on Indian soil, it will take at least 12 months—and perhaps more—to liberate the whole of India from the British yoke. Let us, therefore, gird up our loins and prepare for a long and a hard struggle !

THIS WAR AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Broadcast Address from Tokyo, on June 24th, 1943

Countrymen and friends ! I want to deal in the first place with the meaning of this war, and the historical facts lying behind it. Well, this War is a clash between the forces that want to maintain the *Status Quo* in the world and the new forces that are determined to destroy it in order to usher in a new order. The former includes the Anglo-American imperialistic powers that have been masquerading under the cloak of freedom and democracy. Victory to this imperialistic powers would mean the perpetuation of our servitude as well as the continued enslavement of many other unfortunate nations.

Some of my countrymen have been expecting that under the pressure of an international crisis, the imperialistic powers like Britain might be induced to recognise the independence of enslaved countries like India, but all such expectations have been completely falsified. Likewise, all attempts previously made by some people to avoid war, and somehow to arrive at a compromise between two parties, have proved to be fruitless. The result is the present war, which is being fought to a finish, and there is every chance of it being a more prolonged struggle than the last World War.

In this titanic conflict, our national interest clearly lies in allying ourselves with those young and virile

nations, who are determined to overthrow the *status quo* and thereby give us a chance of winning our liberty.

It should be fully evident that the Tripartite Powers by fighting our agelong enemy and inflicting terrible defeats on him, have been indirectly helping our national struggle to a remarkable degree. If our enemy had not been mortally wounded by these powers, our task of achieving liberty would have been a hundred times more difficult than what it is today. We are grateful for this, but we are even more grateful that the Tripartite Powers are not only content with giving us indirect help, but have been offering active support and assistance in our fight for freedom.

I know that there are some countrymen of mine who, having been brought up in English institutions and having been influenced by English propaganda, doubt the merits of the Tripartite Powers. *I would ask those countrymen to put their trust in me. For the powerful British Government that has persecuted me all my life and has imprisoned me 11 times, has not been able to demoralise me. No power on earth can hope to do so. And if the wily, cunning and resourceful British politicians have failed to cajole and corrupt me, nobody else can do so!*

In all the Axis countries I have visited, I have not only studied very closely the public opinion in regard to India, but I have also acquainted myself at first hand with the attitude and policy of the three Governments.

Friends ! the latest declaration of Premier Tojo made at the Imperial Diet on 16th June, 1943, which

I had the privilege of hearing personally, following my interview with him on 14th June, was absolutely clear and unequivocal. In the course of that statement which will live in History for all time as an epoch-making declaration, His Excellency said: " Japan is firmly resolved to extend all means in order to help to expel and eliminate from India the Anglo-Saxon influences which are the enemy of the Indian people, and enable India to achieve full independence in the true sense of the term ".

Friends ! I know that some anti-Axis people have been making efforts to mislead the Indian people by suggesting that it is unbelievable that the Axis powers should become so generous as to support India's demand for independence. But to me the attitude of every Axis power is traditionally both neutral and easily understandable. Today, the Axis powers and India have a common enemy, and therefore a common interest and objective.

The Axis powers must, in their own interest and in order to ensure their own freedom and prosperity in the future, defeat and overthrow the British Empire. In order to achieve that aim they must expel Anglo-American powers and influence from India, and they must do this even if the Indian people preferred to remain under the British yoke. Knowing, however, that the Indian people have been struggling for their freedom, the sympathy of the Axis powers naturally goes out to them.

Moreover, if India could achieve her national emancipation from the British Empire, it will be of

advantage to the whole world including the Axis powers. Reason and commonsense should therefore easily comprehend why the Axis powers have adopted so friendly an attitude towards the Indiân Independence Movement.

Having been completely foiled in their anti-Axis and anti-Japanese propaganda, the Anglo-American imperialists and their hirelings have fallen back on their last subterfuge.

Referring to Premier Tojo's repeated declarations they have been saying that these declarations are the embodiment of policies intended to bluff the gullible and credulous people. There is an old saying in Sanskrit which you all know—*Atmavath Manyate Jagath* —which means that a man would judge the world according to his own nature. Being hypocrites themselves these people think that everybody else is a hypocrite.

However, Premier Tojo has given the most effective and crushing reply to such vile propaganda by declaring to the whole world that before the end of the present year both Burma and the Philippines will have Independence in reality. I wonder what new arguments our enemies can possibly invent for their anti-Axis propaganda when this year is out.

Countrymen ! you are aware that towards the end of 1940 since I saw Mahatma Gandhi had at long last launched Civil Disobedience campaign, I felt that the honour and prestige of the Indian people had been vindicated and, it was necessary to plan the Indian revolution on a larger scale and in an effective man-

ner in order to bring it to fruition.

But for that it was necessary to have information on the international situation and to establish contact with the Axis powers and to secure their active assistance.

Now I am in a position to announce to you that all these objectives have been fully achieved.

Firstly, we know the international situation at first hand and we are, therefore, convinced of our ultimate victory.

Secondly, we know at first hand that the Axis powers in general and Japan in particular, are the best friends and allies that the Indian people *now* have for their struggle for freedom.

Thirdly, all Indians outside India, who are not living in countries directly under the control of our enemies, have now been brought together into one well-built organisation. They are following closely developments inside India and on the other hand they are keeping unimpeded contact with international events.

They are making all preparations to bring at the right time the maximum assistance to you who have been carrying on this struggle at home in spite of internment, persecution and brutality.

Friends ! You may remember what I have in the past assured you more than once that when the hour strikes, I and many others like myself, will be by your side to share the glory of fighting and suffering side by side and to share with you the joy of Victory as well.

The British Broadcasting Corporation, through its speaker Mr. Brenwood, said that I did not have the slightest intention of fulfilling my pledge. I would like to tell them that pledge, which had been given not to the B. B. C. but to my countrymen, would be redeemed in fulness of time.

Now I have taken the third step and I am not far from the Indian Frontier. No power on earth was able to hamper my movements since January 1941; and no power on earth will be able to prevent my crossing the Frontier once again, in order to participate in the last phase of our national struggle.

Countrymen and friends! In conclusion let me convey through you to our comrades in prison and in internment, my brotherly greetings. Tell them to be of good cheer. They have upheld the honour and prestige of our country. Through their sufferings, they have declared to the whole world that enslaved India is at war with Britain.

I and all those, who have been working outside India, are proud of them. Not a day passes without our paying humble homage to their noble martyrdom. I assure them once again that their sufferings will not be in vain.

India shall be free—and before long. And a free India will throw open the prison gates so that her worthy sons may step out of the darkness of the prison cells into the light of freedom, joy and self-fulfilment!

Inquilab Zindabad!
Azad Hind Zindabad!

WHAT BRITISH IMPERIALISM MEANS FOR INDIA

Statement at a Press Conference held in Tokyo on June 19, 1943

Gentlemen ! At the outset I may say that it is for me a great pleasure to offer you my cordial greetings since I have been for a long time connected with journalism in my own country.

You may be wondering what has brought me to this part of the world and at such a time.

For many long years British jails in India and Burma had been my residence. But the fact, that today, I am standing before you in the heart of Nippon, instead of sitting idly in a prison house in India, is symbolic of the new movement that is now sweeping over my country.

It was in accordance with the will of my countrymen that I left home and homeland more than two years ago and whatever I had done since then was also in accordance with their will.

During the last World War our leaders had been bluffed and deceived by the wily British politicians. That was why we took the vow more than 20 years ago never again to be deceived by them again.

For more than 20 years my generation had striven for feedom and eagerly awaited the hour that has now struck—the hour that is for the Indian people the dawn

of freedom !

We know very well such opportunity will not come again for another hundred years and we are therefore determined to make the fullest use of it.

Gentlemen ! We have so often heard of war that is waged for the freedom of democracy. But you can very well imagine what my countrymen think of those powers, that talk of freedom and democracy and deny the same to one-fifth of the human race—the powers that reply to the demand for liberty by terror and brutality and by the massacre of unarmed men and women and children. British imperialism meant for India moral degradation, cultural ruin, economic impoverishment and political enslavement.

Is it any wonder, therefore, that the Indian people have at last solemnly resolved to end the British yoke? The present world conflict means for the Indian people the struggle between the forces that want to maintain the *status quo* and those that are determined to overthrow it.

Can any one blame us, if in such conflict our sympathy lies with those Powers that stand for the change —for the New Order ? And when these Powers support our demand for freedom it is but natural that our sympathy for them should deepen into enthusiastic support.

The Tripartite Powers have rendered the greatest help to India's struggle by waging war with our eternal foe. And they have earned our lasting gratitude by offering us not only sympathy but active support and assistance.

Nevertheless, it is our duty to pay for our liberty with our own blood. The freedom that we shall win, through our sacrifice and exertions, we shall be able to preserve with our own strength.

We, therefore, feel strongly that we should actively participate in the war against our common foe.

The enemy, that has drawn the sword, must be fought with the sword. Civil Disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people receive the baptism of fire on a large scale will they qualify for their freedom.

OUR CONCERN

Broadcast address from Tokyo, June 21, 1943

Countrymen and friends ! Since I spoke to you last no important change has taken place in the general war situation. In the Western theatre, the Anglo-American forces have scored success, and the fighting in North Africa has come to an end. The Anglo-Americans have followed this up by occupying certain islands in the Mediterranean.

But to us Indians what is of primary importance is not what is happening in Tunis, Timbictoo, or in Lempedusa or Alaska, but what is happening inside India and across our frontier.

What is of primary importance to us is, that the much advertised reconquest of Burma has ended in a shameful retreat ; the Nippon army is standing on our eastern frontier ; and the Government of Nippon through its worthy Prime Minister, General Tojo, has repeatedly declared its fullest support to the Indian Independence, and its firm resolve to see that the Anglo-American forces and influence are expelled from India ; and lastly, the Nipponese Prime Minister has offered active assistance towards the Indian revolutionaries in their struggle for complete national independence.

What is also of obvious importance to India is the up-rooting of British Imperialism in our country.

You know, as well as I do, that when this war broke out, some of our friends thought that the British Government would soon find itself in serious difficulties and that it would naturally be constrained to sue for peace with the party that controlled the cabinets in the majority of provinces in British India.

According to these friends, all that the Congress had to do was to hold on till the British Government was compelled to make the first advance.

A year passed by, but there was no evidence of any change of heart on the part of the British tyrants. Then these friends decided to exert mild pressure on the British Government in an effort to bring about a compromise ; in this, steps were taken, but no tangible results followed.

Even the fall of Singapore, the greatest disaster in British military history, according to Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, and the loss of Burma, could not bring about any appreciable change. British Imperialism remains inexorable. Men may come and men may go, empires may come and empires may go, but British Imperialism goes on for ever—that is what our rulers continue to think.

You may call it lack of statesmanship or political bankruptcy, or midsummer madness. But this midsummer madness has its own explanation.

The British Empire has grown out of India. The British people know, no matter to which political party they belong, that they need to reap all the resources of India. To them the empire today means India. They are now fighting madly to preserve that empire.

The cost of recognising India's Independence might amount to winning the war, but losing the empire.

Consequently, no matter what fate besets Britain during the course of this war, the Englishman will endeavour to the very last to keep his empire, that is, to hold on to India.

Therefore, if I may speak frankly, I would say that it is not a midsummer madness that the British politicians refused to recognise India's independence though they are in a terrible plight ; it is midsummer madness that we should expect the Englishman to give up his empire voluntarily !

There is another factor that is against the British Imperialists.

As the Foreign Minister of Germany said the other day, the British Empire had been losing one part of territory to his enemies and another part to its friends during the course of the present war. Moreover, in his frantic endeavour to maintain the Empire, John Bull is now bleeding himself white, making up the colossal loss by exploiting India more ruthlessly with the war-effort.

Therefore, according to the imperialistic logic, whatever may be the outcome of this war, it would be their endeavour to retain their hard grip over India.

Consequently, no Indian should ever cherish the illusion that one day England will be induced to recognise India's Independence.

But that is not to say that British politicians will never again compromise with India.

Another attempt at compromise may be made at any time whether under pressure of failing military situation, or in order to placate the liberal elements in England and in America. But what I want to point out is, that by compromise the British politicians will never recognise India's independence, but will only try to bluff the Indian people.

Protracted negotiations are only planned to side-track the campaign for independence and thereby undermine the national will, as they did between December 1941 and April 1942.

Negotiations, which were carried on by Sir Stafford Cripps in India last year, have done no harm to the British Government in any way. It only interrupted our struggle for freedom.

Therefore, we should, once and for all, give up hope for any compromise with British Imperialism. Our independence admits of no compromise. Freedom is won only when the British and their allies quit India for good. And those, who really want liberty, must fight for it and pay for it with their own blood.

Let us therefore carry on the fight for liberty, inside India and outside India, with all our strength and vigour.

Let us continue the battle with unshakable faith till the day that under the combined attack of our friends and allies and of ourselves, the Anglo-American Imperialism—the British Empire—will be broken up and out of its ashes India will once again emerge as an independent nation.

On to Delhi

In this struggle there is no going back, and there can be no faltering. We must march onward and forward till victory is achieved and freedom won !

Inquilab Zindabad !

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE EAST ASIA DELEGATES CONFERENCE, SYONAN, 1943

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honour you have done me, by appointing me to the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia. I accept this responsibility—but I do so with a feeling of extreme humility and I pray that God may grant me strength to fulfil my duty, to the entire satisfaction of my countrymen at home and abroad.

If you were to hear my experiences—at home and abroad—since the outbreak of the present war, you would feel, as I do, that the hand of Providence has been protecting us from harm and has been guiding our efforts along the path leading to victory and freedom. This has increased my optimism and self-confidence a hundred-fold.

Friends ! The time has now come for freedom-loving Indians to act. Action in a war-crisis demands, above all, military discipline, as well as unflinching loyalty to the cause. I, therefore, call upon all my countrymen in East Asia to line up in one solid phalanx under one leadership and prepare for the grim fight that is ahead of us. I am confident that they will do so.

I am glad to tell you that the momentous step taken today serves to unite in a common bond, not only the patriotic Indians in East Asia, but patriotic Indians

all over the world as well. I have today the confidence and support of all freedom-loving Indians abroad, who are actively working for the emancipation of our Motherland. Even Indians now living in enemy countries, where they are unable to work actively for India's freedom, are morally with us in the work that we are doing. Within my knowledge, this is the first time in recent history that Indians living abroad have been united in one organisation, for the attainment of one common goal.

What is perhaps even more remarkable is, that patriotic Indians abroad are working in complete harmony with their countrymen at home. I have publicly declared several times that when I left home and homeland in 1941, on an important mission, it was in accordance with the will of the vast majority of my countrymen. Since then, despite all the restrictions imposed by the C. I. D.—that is the Secret Service—I have remained in constant touch with my countrymen at home. Today, I can go so far as to inform you, that during the last 12 months, a large number of our representatives have been sent into India from outside, from all directions. Some of them have been captured and shot, for which we shall, in due time, exact full revenge. But many more have been able to evade arrest and, according to latest reports, they are working satisfactorily. Thus, patriotic Indians abroad have been working as genuine trustees of the freedom-fight at home. I can assure everybody once again that whatever we have done up till now, or may do in future, has been and will be, for the freedom of India and we

shall never do anything that is either against the interest of India or will not be in accordance with the will of our people.

I shall now deal with the question as to how we can win our liberty. Some of my friends at home had hoped at one time, that under the pressure of an international crisis the British Government would, in its own interest accede to India's demand for independence. These friends must have been disillusioned by now—because it is transparently clear that both during and after the war, the British Government intends to exploit India more ruthlessly than ever before. That is why Field Marshal Lord Wavell is being sent as Viceroy and Governor-General. I have noticed that certain circles at home are extremely dissatisfied over this appointment and they would have probably preferred a man like Lord Halifax as Viceroy. But I do not share their view. For me, the appointment of Field Marshal Lord Wavell as Viceroy is a prophetic event —a writing on the wall. This ever-retreating Commander-in-Chief is destined to be the last Viceroy of India. Moreover, the military, political and economic exploitation of India, which he is bound to intensify, will further embitter the Indian masses and thereby strengthen the gathering forces of revolution.

But though India is in for a period of military dictatorship under the new Viceroy, I anticipate, nevertheless, that in future, another attempt at a compromise with India will be made. This attempt will be nothing more than a bluff—or a hoax—and our countrymen at home should be prepared in advance to see

through it—as they did when Sir Stafford Cripps offered empty promises to India in April 1942. Mr. Churchill, the supreme representative of the British people recently gave an indication of his mentality when he told the Lord Mayor of London that he did not like even the expression "British Commonwealth", preferring the expression "British Empire" instead. The last imperialist Prime Minister of England will, no doubt, do his very best to preserve that empire and any offer that he will make to the Indian people will be only for the purpose of deceiving them. But there is no sense in even thinking of a compromise with an empire that will soon disappear from the face of the earth.

Those of you who have studied history of freedom movements in other lands—as I have done—must have observed, that for the achievement of independence, two conditions are essential—first, a favourable international situation and, secondly necessary sacrifice and effort. The first condition has already been fulfilled. If India had to fight single-handed with the British Empire, our task would have been exceedingly difficult. The Tripartite Powers, however, by fighting our enemy and inflicting staggering defeats on him, have lightened our burden to a considerable degree. And we have the further advantage that the Tripartite Powers are determined to carry on the war until Anglo-American Imperialism is overthrown.

Friends! For more than two years I have been constantly travelling, with a view to studying the war-situation—and the strategic position in particular—remains greatly advantageous to the Tripartite Powers



". . . There is no sense in even thinking of compromise . . ."

—and you will see that as the days roll by, the Anglo-American Powers will have to suffer one defeat after another.

Friends ! The British Empire, in spite of all its power and might, has been seeking and obtaining help from every possible quarter. It is, therefore, but natural that we, too, should look for sympathy and assistance, wherever it is available. Moreover, every freedom-movement in history has had to seek some help or other from abroad, before it could achieve success. The logic of events, in the present case, has made the Tripartite Powers our natural allies and there is nothing wrong if we accept their sympathy, or even their help, should we need it.

I know there are some of my countrymen, who, under the influence of British Propaganda, doubt the sincerity of Tripartite Powers in their attitude towards India. But commonsense should tell them that it is the most natural thing for the enemies of British Imperialism to support India's demand for liberty. Moreover, with the exception of England, a free India will be an advantage to the whole world, including Tripartite Powers.

The Tripartite Powers have in the past often clarified their attitude towards India. In addition, the Japanese Government, through its worthy Prime Minister, General Tojo, has repeatedly proclaimed its policy towards the Philippines, Burma and India. British politicians and propagandists, being themselves hypocrites, have been describing Japan's attitude as insincere and hypocritical. But Prime Minister General Tojo

has dealt a crushing blow to Anglo-American propaganda by boldly declaring before the whole world that independence will be a reality in Burma and in the Philippines—not after the war but before the current year.

Japan's attitude towards Burma and the Philippines will be the most convincing proof of her sincerity and good faith. But apart from this, as a normal human being, I see no reason why I should have any doubt or mistrust with regard to Japan's intentions. Japan was the first Asiatic power to successfully resist foreign aggression—and Japan knows more than any other Asiatic Power, that so long as the enslaved Asiatic nations are not emancipated, no Asiatic nation can feel completely safe from the menace of aggression. Moreover, there is in Japan, today, what one might call an Asiatic consciousness which manifests itself in a desire to help other Asiatic nations to achieve their liberation. This is a unique development which affords a golden opportunity to all enslaved nations in Asia to emancipate themselves and set up a new order based on freedom, justice and morality.

If anybody has still any doubt in his mind on this point, I should ask him to place his trust in me. My loyalty is to India and to India alone; and not even my enemies will have the audacity to urge that I am capable of betraying my country. And, as I said in Tokyo the other day, if the British Government could not demoralise me after persecuting me all my life, nobody else can do so. And if cunning British politicians could neither cajole nor deceive me—no one else can hope

to do so.

Every Indian should realise that victory of the Anglo-American Powers will mean for India continued enslavement and more ruthless exploitation. Our only hope of freedom is, therefore, in a Tripartite victory. But we should so conduct our own struggle that an Axis victory might simultaneously bring our liberty.

Friends! We have now the most favourable international situation and the most happy combination of circumstances. Consequently all that is needed for winning freedom is sufficient effort and sacrifice. Our record in this connection is by no means unsatisfactory. You may remember that in May, last year, after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India and exactly 85 years after the outbreak of our first war of independence, I declared that our national struggle was entering upon a most significant phase. Since then, we have passed many a milestone on our onward march—most important of these being the intensification of the Civil Disobedience Movement and the commencement of sabotage activities after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi in August last. The history of India's struggle, in August 1942, will, therefore, remain an unforgettable landmark, indicating the psychological transition from passive to active resistance. Not content with a Civil Disobedience campaign, the Indian people are now morally prepared to employ other means for achieving their liberation.

The time has, therefore, come to pass on to the next stage of our campaign. All organisations, whether inside India or outside, must now transform themselves

into a disciplined fighting organisation under one leadership. The aim and purpose of this organisation would be to take up arms against British Imperialism, when the time is ripe and the signal is given.

In order to mobilise all our forces effectively, I intend organising a Provisional Government of Free India. It will be the task of this Provisional Government to lead the Indian revolution to a successful conclusion. To this end, the Provisional Government will have to prepare the Indian people—inside and outside India—for an armed struggle, which will be the culmination of all our national efforts since 1885. When the revolution succeeds and Anglo-American Imperialism is expelled from India, the task of the Provisional Government will be over. It will then make room for a permanent Government to be set up inside India, *in accordance with the will of the Indian people.*

When all our preparations for the last struggle are complete, it will be possible to bring the Indian struggle into line with the common struggle of the Tripartite Powers against the common foe. By participating in this common fight, we shall be qualifying for our freedom. By shedding our blood in a sacred cause, we shall be paying the price of liberty and, at the same time, we shall be laying the only enduring foundation for our national unity. And last but not least, by winning freedom through our own efforts and sacrifice, we shall be acquiring the strength whereby we shall preserve our liberty for all time.

Friends ! In conclusion, I thank you once again from the bottom of my heart for the confidence you

have reposed in me and for the assurance of unflinching support that you have given me. I warn you that though we are absolutely sure of our final victory, we can never afford to under-estimate the enemy and we should even be prepared for temporary setbacks. We have a grim fight before us—for the enemy is powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In this final march to freedom—you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test, will freedom be yours. I am confident that you will do and thereby bring freedom and prosperity to your enslaved and impoverished land !

Inquilab Zindabad !
Azad Hind Zindabad !

WHY I LEFT HOME AND HOMELAND

Speech delivered at the mass meeting held in Syonan on July 9, 1943

Sisters and Brothers ! Let me, first of all thank you for the exceedingly warm and enthusiastic welcome that you have given me today. I am particularly thankful to my sisters who have boldly come forward in such large numbers to give expression to their patriotic feelings. From what I see today, I feel confident that in the coming fight, my countrymen in Syonan and in Malay will play a leading part. What was once a bulwark of British Imperialism has now become a bulwark of Indian Nationalism.

Next, I would like to tell you quite frankly, what made me leave home and homeland on a journey, that was fraught with the danger of every kind.

You know that I have been actively working in the independence movement ever since I left the portals of the University in 1921. I have been through all the Civil Disobedience campaigns during the last 2 decades. In addition to this, I have been repeatedly put in prison without trial on the suspicion of having been connected with secret revolutionary movements —whether non-violent or violent—with which I have been familiar. I may also assert without the slightest exaggeration that there is no nationalist leader in India who can claim to possess the many-sided experi-

ence that I have been able to acquire. In the light of this experience I came to the conclusion that all the efforts, that we could put forward inside India, would not suffice to expel the British from our country. If the struggle at home had sufficed to achieve liberty for our people, I would not have been so foolish as to undertake this unnecessary risk and hazard.

To put it briefly, therefore, my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home. Without this supplementary help from outside it is impossible for anybody to liberate India. On the other hand, the supplementary help from outside, which the national struggle at home so urgently needs, in reality, is very small. This is because the defeats inflicted on the British by the Axis Powers, have shattered British power and prestige to such an extent, that our task has been rendered comparatively easy.

The help that our countrymen at home needed and still need is two-fold—moral and material. First, they have to be morally convinced that their victory is assured in the long run. Secondly, they have to be given military help from outside. In order to do the first, one had to study objectively the international war-situation and thereby find out what the result of the war was going to be. To do the second, one had to find out what Indians outside India could do to help their countrymen at home and also if it was possible to obtain help from the enemies of British Imperialism, should that need arise. Friends ! I am now in a position to tell you that both these objectives have been

fulfilled. By travelling abroad, I could see things for myself and could study the respective positions of the belligerent powers. Thereafter, when I came to the conclusion that the defeat of the Anglo-American Imperialism was assured, I conveyed that information to my countrymen at home. Then I was delighted to find that my countrymen all over the world were wide awake and were anxious to undertake their share of the national struggle. I was also gratified to find that the Axis powers—and Japan in particular—were really eager to see India free and they were prepared to render any help that was within their power, should the Indian people desire it.

As to the attitude of the Indians abroad, I do not think that there is any man or woman who does not want India to be free and who is not prepared to help the national struggle. As to the attitude of the Axis Powers and of Japan—if anybody has the slightest doubt or suspicion I can easily convince him with overwhelming proofs that outside the ranks of our countrymen, they are the best friends we have in the world today. Moreover, I can ask you to trust me. Not even my enemies will have the audacity to say that I am capable of doing anything against the interest of my country. And if the British Government could not demoralise me or deceive me or allure me no other power on earth can do so. Therefore, believe me when I say, that if you want any external help in your struggle against British Imperialism the Axis Powers will come to your aid. But whether you do need any help or not, is for you to decide—and it goes without say-

ing, that if you could do without any help, it would be the best course for India. At the same time I should add that if the almighty British Government can go round the whole world with the begging bowl asking for help everywhere—even from the enslaved and impoverished people of India—there is nothing wrong in our taking help from outside, if we are forced to do so.

The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world, including our enemies, as to how it is proposed to bring about our national liberation. Indians outside India—particularly, Indians in East Asia—are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home, but also among the Indian army which is now standing under the British flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty.

According to my plan, therefore, it is not even necessary to bother about the attitude of the Axis powers towards India. If Indians outside and inside will only do their duty, it is possible for the Indian people to throw the British out of India and liberate 388 millions of their countrymen.

There may be croakers who will say that if 388 millions of Indians cannot expel British power from India, how can 3 millions living abroad hope to do so ? But friends, look to the history of Ireland. If 3 million Irishmen living under the British domination

—under a form of Martial-Law—could, with the help of 5 thousand armed Sinn Fein Volunteers, bring the British Government to its knees in 1921, why cannot 3 million Indians, backed by a powerful movement at home, hope to throw the British out of India, when the aid of powerful Japan is readily available ?

I must, however, say that Indians living abroad and particularly in East Asia, must put forward their maximum effort. In order to do so effectively, it is my intention to set up a Provisional Government of Free India. The task of this Government will be to mobilise all the resources of the Indian people and lead the fight against the British army in India. When the campaign succeeds and India is free, the Provisional Government will make room for the permanent Government of Free India, which will be set up in accordance with the will of the Indian people.

Friends ! You will now realise that the time has come for 3 million Indians living in East Asia to mobilise all their available resources including money and man-power. Half-hearted measures will not do. I want Total Mobilisation and nothing less—for we have been told repeatedly, even by our enemies, that this is a total war.

You see before you today a part of India's Army of Liberation—the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army.

They held their ceremonial parade the other day in front of the Town Hall. Thereafter they have resolved that they will not rest till they hold their victory parade before the Red Fortress of ancient Delhi.



. . . Onward to Delhi,
Onward to Delhi . . .

They have adopted the slogan—"Onward to Delhi—Onward to Delhi!" Friends! Let this slogan of the 3 million Indians in East Asia be—"Total Mobilisation for a Total War"!

Out of this total mobilisation, I expect at least three hundred thousand soldiers and three crores—that is thirty millions of dollars. I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form a "Death-defying Regiment". Who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's First War of Independence in 1857?

Friends! We have for a long time been hearing so much of the Second Front in Europe. But our countrymen at home are now hard pressed and they are demanding a second front. Give me Total Mobilisation in East Asia and I promise you a second front—a real second front for Indian struggle!

TO DELHI ! TO DELHI !

Speech delivered at a Military Review of the I. N. A. (Indian National Army) on July 5, 1943.

Soldiers of India's Army of Liberation, today is the proudest day of my life. Today it has pleased Providence to give me the unique privilege and honour of announcing to the whole world that India's Army of Liberation has come into being. This Army has now been drawn up in military formation on the battle field of Singapore—which was once the bulwark of the British Empire. This is not only the Army that will emancipate India from the British yoke, it is also the Army that will, hereafter create the future national army of Free India. Every Indian must feel proud that this army—his own army—has been organised entirely under Indian leadership and that when the historical moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go to battle.

There are people who thought at one time, that the Empire, on which the sun did not set, was an everlasting Empire. No such thought ever troubled me. History had taught me that every Empire has its inevitable decline and collapse. Moreover, I had seen with my own eyes, cities and fortresses that were once the bulwarks, but which became the graveyards, of bygone Empires. But standing today on the graveyard of the British Empire, even a child is convinced that the

almighty British Empire is already a thing of the past.

When France declared war against Germany in 1939 and the campaign began, there was but one cry which rose from the lips of German soldiers—"To Paris, to Paris!" When the brave soldiers of Nippon set out on their march in December, 1941, there was but one cry which rose from their lips—"To Singapore, To Singapore!". Comrades! My soldiers, let your battle cry be—"To Delhi! To Delhi!" How many of you will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory-parade on another graveyard of the British Empire—the Lal Killa or Red Fortress of ancient Delhi.

Throughout my public career I have always felt that though India is otherwise ripe for Independence in every way, she has lacked one thing—namely, an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy, because he had his armed volunteers behind him. It is your privilege and honour to be the first to come forward and organise India's National Army. By doing so, you have removed the last obstacle in your path to freedom. Be happy and proud that you are the pioneers—the vanguard—in such a noble cause.

Let me remind you that you have a two-fold task to perform. With the force of arms and at the cost of your blood you will have to win liberty. Then, when India is free, you will have to organise the

permanent army of Free India, whose task it will be to preserve our liberty at all time. We must build up our national defence on such an unshakeable foundation that never again in our history shall we lose our freedom.

As soldiers, you will always have to cherish and live up to the three ideals—faithfulness, duty and sacrifice. Soldiers, who always remain faithful to their nation, who perform their duty under all circumstances and who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. If you, too, want to be invincible, engrave these three ideals in the inmost core of your hearts.

A true soldier needs both military and spiritual training. You must—all of you—so train yourselves and your comrades that every soldier will have unbounded confidence in himself, will be conscious of being immensely superior to the enemy, will be fearless of death, and will have sufficient initiative to act on his own in any critical situation, should a need arise. During the course of the present war, you have seen with your own eyes what wonders, scientific training, coupled with courage, fearlessness and dynamism can achieve. Learn all that you can from this example and build up for Mother India an absolutely first-class modern army.

To those of you who are officers, I should like to say that your responsibility is a heavy one. Though the responsibility of an officer in every army in this world is indeed great, it is far greater in your case. Because of our political enslavement, we have



"... Out of your ranks will be born the future General Staff of the Army of Free India ..."

no tradition like that of Mukden, Port Arthur or Sedan to inspire us. We have to learn some of these that the British [illegible]s and we have to learn much that they did not teach. Nevertheless, I am confident that you will rise to the occasion and fulfil the task that your countrymen have thrown on your brave shoulders. Remember always, that officers make or unmake the army. Remember too, that the British had suffered defeats on so many fronts, largely because of worthless officers. And remember also that out of your ranks will be born the future General Staff of the Army of Free India.

To all of you, I shall like to say, that in the course of this war, you will have to acquire the experience and achieve the success which alone can build up a national tradition for our army in future. An army that has no tradition of courage, fearlessness and invincibility, cannot hold its own in a struggle with a powerful enemy.

Comrades ! You have voluntarily accepted a mission that is the noblest that the human mind can conceive of. For the fulfilment of such a mission, no sacrifice is too great—not even the sacrifice of one's life. You are today the custodians of India's national honour or the embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations. So conduct yourselves that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you.

I have said that today is the proudest day of my life. For an enslaved people, there can be no greater pride, no higher honour, than to be the first soldier in the army of liberation. But this honour carries with it a corresponding responsibility and I am deeply cons-

cious of it. I assure you, that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. But if you follow me in life and in death—as I am confident you will—I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God now bless our Army and grant us Victory in the coming fight !

Inquilab Zindabad !
Azad Hind Zindabad ! !

ADDRESS OF WELCOME MADE TO HIS EXCELLENCY PRIME MINISTER GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO, IN HIS EXCELLENCY'S HONOUR, AT A REVIEW OF THE MARCH PAST PRESENTED BY THE FORCES OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY ON JULY 6, 1943

Your Excellency! On behalf of the Indian National Army, I have great pleasure in offering your Excellency a most hearty welcome this morning. I desire to express our profound appreciation of the great honour your Excellency has done us, by spending so much of your valuable time in order to review our Army. This day will ever remain a red-letter day, in the history of the newly-organised Army of Free India. Your Excellency's presence among our soldiers today, immediately after sending an inspiring message to the Indian Independence League Conference yesterday—has given a powerful impetus to our revolutionary struggle.

The army, that stands before your Excellency today, knows that it will have to fight for India's liberty. It is also conscious of the many difficulties that still beset the path to victory and freedom. But this army is determined to achieve India's liberty at the cost of any sacrifice. In this task the army has the active sup-

port of all Indians in East Asia, whose enthusiasm knows no bounds.

In conclusion, I beg to assure your Excellency of our unshakeable determination to fight with you, shoulder to shoulder, through joy and sorrow, through sunshine and darkness, till complete victory is achieved, *till India regains her lost liberty!*

EMPIRE ROSE IN A DAY WILL VANISH IN A NIGHT

Speech delivered at a meeting of Indian women held under the auspices of the Women's Section of the I. I. L., Syonan Branch, on 12th July, 1943.

Sisters ! First of all, I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the grand welcome that you have given me this afternoon. I am purposely calling it a grand welcome, because, I cannot conceive of a more magnificent welcome than what you have given me this afternoon. At the same time I want to thank you also for the great enthusiasm which you exhibited the other day, when we had our rally at the Padang in the front of the Municipal Offices. Not only myself, but also the other friends and guests who were with me on the platform were exceedingly impressed by the brave manner in which you stood in the rain and inclement weather and stuck to your posts till the very last. I know some of you had also brought your babies along with you. Your brave attitude and your profound enthusiasm on that occasion deeply impressed all of us. I have no doubt after this good beginning your work will progress rapidly from day to day.

You all know, as well as I do, of the part our women at home have taken in the Freedom Movement, especially during the last 22 years. From the very

beginning of the new awakening in India, our women have taken a prominent part, in all spheres of public life. But this has been particularly evident since the year 1921, when the Congress was reborn under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It is not only in connection with the Congress movement or the movement of Civil Disobedience, but also, in connection with a secret Revolutionary Movement that our sisters have played a noble part.

In fact, it will be no exaggeration for me to say that there is no sphere of public activity, there is no department of national endeavour, in which Indian women have not played the prominent part. What is more, there is no suffering which Indian women have not gladly and bravely shared along with our men, in the course of several decades of our national struggle. Whether it is work of touring from village to village without food and drink, whether it is a task of lecturing at one meeting after another, whether it is a task of carrying the Freedom message from door to door, whether it is a task of leading processions along public streets in defiance of the official orders and in spite of lathi charges by the inhuman British police, or whether it is a task of running election campaigns or whether again it is a task of facing bravely imprisonment and persecution, and insult, humiliation of every kind, nowhere have our women been found wanting. And last but not least, our sisters, our brave sisters, also played a prominent part in the secret revolutionary movement. And they have shown that when the need arose they could also arise like their brothers, and play

their part very well.

If today I express my fullest confidence in you, in your capacity to suffer and fight for the freedom of your country, it is not an empty compliment which I indulge in, simply for the purpose of rousing your enthusiasm. If I do so, it is a result of my personal experience. I know what our women are capable of, and therefore I say without the slightest exaggeration, that there is no work, that there is no sacrifice, there is no suffering, which our sisters are not capable of.

The time has now come for us to make the last and final effort in order to achieve the liberation of our Motherland. Such an opportunity is indeed rare in the lifetime of a nation. Certainly in our lifetime this opportunity will not come again, and perhaps not even for another one hundred years. I must say that it is the grace of Providence that this opportunity has suddenly presented itself to us. And if we grapple this opportunity and make every effort to undergo every sacrifice, we shall be able to achieve once and for all our national emancipation.

I know that among us there are men who have at one time thought that the British Empire was an everlasting Empire, there are men who thought at one time that it is unbelievable that the British Empire can ever ceases to exist, but history tells a different tale. History teaches us that every Empire has its fall just as it has its rise. And the time has come for the British Empire to disappear from the face of this world. If you remember, sisters, I told you the other evening at the Padang that at least we who stand on the battlefield of Singa-

pore, at least we should be convinced, and we are convinced, that the British Empire is a thing of the past. We have seen with our own eyes how the Empire has disappeared from this part of the world and we will see how it disappears from another part of the world also—from India as well.

I remember having read years ago a book written by an Englishman called Meredith Conrade. Referring to India he remarked in that book that once the Indian people are united, it would be impossible for the British to continue their domination over India. And in the course of his remarks he said that an Empire, which rose in a day, will vanish in a night.

I said in one of my radio talks not long ago, that it took twenty long years to build Singapore and it took only seven days to evacuate Singapore. Well, I cannot expect that we shall be able to drive out the British from India within a week, but if we calculate mathematically we can find in how many weeks we shall be able to drive the British out of India as well, when the final campaign is launched.

Sisters ! I hope that each and every one of you has the fullest confidence that the time has come for us to make the final effort for our emancipation. I hope that each and every one of you has the fullest confidence that the ultimate outcome of this war can only be the defeat and overthrow of the Anglo-American Imperialism, and it is only out of the overthrow of Anglo-American Imperialism that India can hope to win her freedom. That is why I have always been asserting, that India's freedom is bound up with the final

victory of the Axis powers. Today both parties, India and the Axis Powers, have a common enemy, and therefore we have a common goal. We have to fight against the common enemy no matter what the sacrifice involved may be, and through our common suffering and sacrifice to win our liberty.

Even if it is possible to get our liberty without suffering, sacrifice and struggle, I am sure that it is not worth having, because freedom that is obtained without sacrifice and struggle would be difficult to be retained even if we are free. Therefore if you want to liberate yourselves from the British yoke once for all and thereafter to preserve your independence, if you desire that never again in history should we lose our freedom, then it is necessary that in the course of our national struggle we should acquire that strength whereby we may win, and thereafter be able to preserve our liberty for all time. Therefore we have to pay the price of freedom, and the price of freedom is suffering, sacrifice and struggle. I have no doubt in my mind, that we shall be able to put forth the necessary sacrifice and struggle, we shall be able to undergo cheerfully the necessary suffering, and thereby we shall not only be able to free ourselves from the British domination but thereafter we shall be able to retain our freedom for ever.

Sisters ! The time has come for us to begin our final preparations for the final struggle, in right earnest. We have no time to lose. No one can predict when the call may come, when the march would begin. We must therefore be prepared that whenever the call

comes we should be prepared immediately to begin our march. As I said the other day, there is but one thought in our minds, there is but one cry which rises from our lips—"*Onward to Delhi, Onward to Delhi!*" The campaign which will begin here in Syanon, which has become the graveyard of the British Empire, that campaign will end only when we drive out the British from India and occupy our Metropolis. And then we shall parade finally in celebration of our victory before the famous Red Fortress of Delhi.

Sisters! We had at one time conservative men amongst us who thought that women had nothing to do with the national struggle, and that it was entirely a man's affair. I hope that there are no such men in our midst today. On the contrary, I am convinced that until and unless Indian women play their due part in the national struggle, India can never hope to be free. And if I am so optimistic today of our speedy emancipation, it is because I am equally optimistic of the part that Indian women will play in the coming struggle.

When I talk of your playing your part in the coming struggle, I do not forget the part that our sisters at home are already playing in the struggle at home. I do not forget that there are hundreds, perhaps thousands of our sisters rotting in British jails in India today, and it is their suffering, it is their sacrifice, which is inspiring the entire youth of our country. I have no doubt that our friends at home, men and women, boys and girls, will go on doing their part, but we know that that alone will not be enough to win our liberty. All the efforts that they may possibly put

forward will not suffice to expel the Britishers from India ; therefore we have a duty to perform and that duty is to bring assistance to India from without.

Here in East Asia we have got a population close upon three million Indians and I have no doubt that if we can bring about Total Mobilisation of our resources, in man-power, in money and in other resources, we shall be able to bring that help to India which will enable our countrymen at home to finally overthrow the British yoke.

INDEPENDENT BURMA

Press Statement on the achievement of Burma's Independence.

From 1925 to 1927 I used to gaze from the verandah of my cell in Mandalay Prison, on the palace of the last independent King of Burma and I used to wonder when Burma would be free once again. Today Burma is an independent State and I am breathing the atmosphere of that liberated country.

Right in the midst of a World War, an independent State is born in Asia, out of the ashes of British Imperialism and out of the smouldering ruins left behind by the fleeing British. In November, 1941, the then Prime Minister of Burma was in England, pleading with his British rulers for a small measure of self-rule, but all his entreaties were treated with contempt and scorn. The people of Burma, thereupon, took arms against the British, co-operated with the armed forces of Nippon and hounded the British out of Burma. They now have their reward for all their suffering and sacrifice.

During the nineteenth century, India through her own enslavement offered a jumping-off ground to Britain's armed forces for attacking and subjugating Burma. Burma has now repaid us by turning the British out and offering her independent territory as a springboard for India's national army, in its attack

on Britain's army in India.

The pledge given by Japan's worthy Prime Minister, General Tojo, now stands redeemed. While Sir Stafford Cripps gives promises of Dominion Status and of Pakistan after the war—and while Sir Dorman Smith claims to rule Burma from Delhi with the help of his typewriter—Burma with the help of her ally, Nippon, has succeeded in overthrowing the British and winning her liberty. This has very great significance for India, for Asia, and for the whole world.

The news that India's next door neighbour, Burma, is now free has thrown our rulers in New Delhi into epileptic fits. They are panic-stricken that the example of Burma will now inspire the Indian people to rise in arms against their alien oppressors and they are busy devising more ruthless methods for suppressing the Nationalist Movement. But nothing on earth can keep India enslaved any longer and just as the peacock emblem now flies over the Government House in Rangoon—so will the tri-colour soon fly over the Red Fortress of Delhi !

INDEPENDENT BURMA

II
(*Radio Speech*)

Countrymen and Friends ! Today is the 1st of August 1943. Today an event of great historical importance has taken place. Right in the midst of a World War, an independent state has come into being. Burma—our neighbour has achieved her independence and she has now her own national independent government. Long live Burma !

You all know that when the War in East Asia broke out in December 1941, the people of Burma decided to utilise the opportunity for recovering their lost liberty. Instead of co-operating with the British Government the vast majority of Burmans did their best to help in expelling the British from the country, and the result is that today, not only has Burma been liberated from the British altogether, but she has actually realised her long cherished goal of Independence.

The independence of Burma in this momentous crisis in world history has a two-fold significance for us. It shows, in the first place, what a nation can achieve, if it knows how to seize an opportunity which history has offered. Secondly, just as the conquest of India supplied the British with a jumping-off ground for their attack on Burma in the 19th century,—similarly, emancipation of Burma has supplied the Indian Inde-

pendence Movement in Fast Asia with a spring-board, for its attack on Britain's army of occupation in India, during the 20th century.

Burma was deprived of her liberty long after India was enslaved, nevertheless Burma has stolen a march over us and has attained her liberty, while we are still passing through the throes of evolution. On behalf of the Indian people and of myself, I offer my warmest congratulations to the people of Burma on their achievement—and I heartily wish them increasing prosperity in the days to come. I offer also my hearty felicitation to His Excellency Dr. Ba Maw, the head of the new and Independent State of Burma and I wish him all success in the discharge of the manifold responsibilities which have now devolved on him. It is a source of great pleasure and gratification for me that so soon after meeting Dr. Ba Maw in Syonan, during the first week of July, I can offer him my greetings and congratulations as the head of the new and Independent State of Burma.

Friends, you are aware of the many promises which the British Government has given to the Indian people during the course of their rule in India—promises which have always proved to be mere scraps of paper. You are aware also that these promises have been repeated since the outbreak of the present War and all sorts of silly excuses have been put forward to show that in the midst of a war, transference of power from British to Indian hands cannot take place. As against that, we now see, that right in the midst of the War, the promise of liberty made by the Prime

Minister of Japan, His Excellency General Tojo, on behalf of his Government and nation, has been fully redeemed. Where there is a will there is a way, and this statesmanship and generosity on the part of Japan, will bring into bold relief the hypocrisy of British politicians—while they will demonstrate the real character of Japan's State-policy.

The independence of Burma will, I am sure, be soon followed by the independence of Philippines. Asia is now on the threshold of a new era in her history. This is a unique opportunity for all the suppressed nations of Asia to rise and effect their emancipation. It is, above all, the sacred duty of the Indian people to seize the present golden opportunity and fulfil their agelong aspirations.

The liberation of Asia cannot be complete until India is free. The Indian people must, therefore, rise and liberate themselves and thereby help the emancipation of other Asiatic nations. Above all, India must seize the hand of friendship which Japan has offered to India and to other suppressed nations of Asia. Confronted by a common foe, the people of India must march shoulder to shoulder with the brave Nipponese nation, till the enemy is overthrown and India recovers her lost liberty.

Inquilab Zindabad !
Azad Hind Zindabad ! !

INDEPENDENT BURMA

III

Speech delivered at the Farrer Park, Syonan, on 16th August, 1943.

Indians all over East Asia are meeting today in unprecedented numbers for a two-fold purpose. They are also reiterating their demand that the British quit India at once. They are reaffirming their unshakable determination to fight until the complete independence of India is achieved.

You may be aware that I had the good fortune to be in Burma when the declaration of independence was made on August 1st and the new independent State of Burma brought into existence along with the first cabinet of Free Burma. The whole ceremony was a most solemn and impressive one and I am thankful to Providence that I could witness with my own eyes the birth of a new and independent State just across the Indian frontier. By the nemesis of history, Burma's independent State was established in the same place which was the seat of British authority and power in Burma.

As I was witnessing the historic ceremony, I could see vividly with my mind's eye the ceremony of hoisting our national flag over the Viceroy's House at New Delhi and the victory parade which the Azad Hind

Fouj—" The National Indian Army " will hold inside the Red Fortress of Delhi—when the British are finally expelled from India.

Friends ! You know perhaps that Burma was not new to me and that I had spent two and a half years in prison in Burma when the British were in occupation of the country. But it was a new and Free Burma that I visited this time. In that free Burma the Nippon military administration has been completely abolished. Dr. Baw Ma is the head of the new State as well as Premier and Commander-in-Chief and he has formed a cabinet which will be advised by a Privy Council ; independent Burma has declared war on Britain and America, who are still dreaming of reconquering and re-enslaving Burma.

Burma has entered into a treaty of alliance with Nippon. A Nippon Ambassador is already in Burma. Ambassadors of other countries will soon be in Rangoon ; Burmese Ambassadors have been accredited to other countries. Nippon has decided to transfer all Anglo-American properties to the new Burma State. These properties include factories, harbours, railways, telegraphs and telephones. Thus, Burma will govern the country according to the wishes of Burmese people. And they have an army manned and officered exclusively by themselves. Last but not least, today the peacock emblem, the national flag of Burma—not the Union Jack—is flying over the office and residence of the Head of State Adhipadi Doctor Ba Maw.

Today my heart is full of my recent experiences in Burma, and it will take hours and hours to narrate

to you, all I have seen and heard there. I shall therefore end this topic after relating only a few things. First of all about the Rangoon jail. As I lived in the Rangoon jail for several months in 1927 I wanted very much to revisit that place. But I was not allowed to do so as the jail is no longer used for Indian prisoners. This is now used exclusively for British War prisoners.

Friends ! Think of the day when we shall avenge ourselves for the incarceration of hundreds of thousands of Indian patriots by converting all the prisons into camps for British war prisoners. Prepare from now for the glorious day.

I had the privilege of having long discussions with Dr. Ba Maw and his ministers and I am glad to tell you that a complete agreement was reached on problems of common interest. Burma and India will march shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy, and when the common enemy is vanquished and peace established, we shall live in complete amity and accord like good neighbours.

Friends ! On behalf of the Indian Independence Movement I desire to offer my warmest congratulation to Adpadi Dr. Ba Maw and to the ministers of the new cabinet and to the people of free Burma, on the independence that they have won, and I desire also to convey the good wishes for the everlasting freedom and prosperity of Burma in future.

We are fortunate to have in our midst today members of the Burmese deputation who have recently visited Tokyo. They are led by His Excellency U Ba

Lwin. I beg to offer—on your behalf and mine—the warmest welcome to His Excellency U Ba Lwin and his colleagues and I request them to convey personally our message to the people of Burma, when they arrive in Rangoon.

Friends ! Independence of Burma has thrown fresh responsibilities on our shoulders. After the expulsion of the British from Burma the road to India has been opened and we have to march along that road. Until the British are driven out of India the freedom of Burma cannot be safe. The freedom of India, therefore, is necessary not only for the Indian people, but for Burma as well.

A year has rolled by since Mahatma Gandhi was put in prison for the crime of demanding the withdrawal of the British from India. Since then the Civil Disobedience Movement as well as sabotage activities have gone on with unabated vigour. But we have not won freedom. And we shall not win freedom till we put up a second front on the Indo-Burma frontier and call upon the Indian people and the British army to take up arms against the British and their allies in India.

Providence has ordained that it is the task of Indians in East Asia to put up a second front which the Indian people have been demanding. For this we need a Total Mobilisation of our man-power and resources in East Asia. I want three hundred thousand men and women for the Azad Hind Fouj (the Indian National Army) including the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. I am thankful to the youth of Syonan and



Malay for offering themselves for enlistment in such a large number. But the money that has been forthcoming from Syonan has not been enough. I want from Syonan at least fifty million dollars for our national struggle, and I know this is not too much for you.

I am hoping that the day is not so far off, when we shall be able to set up a Provisional Government for free India. When this is done we shall march into India under the leadership of our own Government. I want to inform my comrades in the Army and among the civil population that the Indian National Army is now on the move. It is a long way from Syonan to Delhi—therefore we have to begin our march as early as possible. All those, who are fit and ready for action, must now begin to pack up.

During the next two months, a large portion of the army will be on the road to India, and when the army moves, the Independence League Headquarters will also move nearer to India. I am longing for the day when our Headquarters will be shifted to the Indo-Burma border.

It is today a very great pleasure for me to see so many of my Muslim countrymen in this gathering of ours. I thank them heartily for the welcome they have given me and for the handsome purse they have offered for the Indian Independence Movement. And let the whole world know, and let our enemies know, that all Indians in East Asia are united, regardless of religion or caste and they are determined to fight for the freedom of their common Motherland.

"SPECIAL ORDER OF THE DAY"

This Order was issued on the occasion of taking over direct Command of the Army.

In the interest of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fouj, I have taken over the direct Command of our army from this day.

This is for me a matter of joy and pride—because for an Indian, there can be no greater honour than to be the Commander of India's army of liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task that I have undertaken and I feel weighed down with a sense of responsibility. I pray that God may give me the necessary strength to fulfil my duty to India, under all circumstances, however difficult or trying they may be.

I regard myself as a servant of 38 crores of my countrymen, who profess different religious faiths. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these 38 crores may be safe in our hands and that every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in us. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and of perfect justice and impartiality, that India's army of liberation can be built up.

In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland, for the establishment of a Government of Free India, based on the goodwill of 38 crores of Indians and for the creation of a permanent army which will guarantee Indian Independence for all time, the

Azad Hind Fauj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role, we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal—namely, the freedom of India—and only one will—namely to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite ; when we march, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steam-roller.

Our task is not an easy one ; the war will be long and hard but I have complete faith in the justice and in the invincibility of our cause. 38 crores of human beings, who form about one-fifth of the human race, have a right to be free and they are now prepared to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on the earth that can deprive us of our birthright of liberty any longer.

Comrades ! Officers and men ! With your unstinted support and unflinching loyalty, the Azad Hind Fauj will become the instrument of India's revolution. Ultimate victory will certainly be ours, I assure you.

Our work has already begun. With this slogan, "Onward to Delhi" on our lips, let us continue to labour and fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the Azad Hind Fauj holds its victory parade inside the ancient Red Fortress of India's metropolis.

Headquarters, Sipah-Salar,
(Headquarters, Supreme Command),
Azad Hind Fauj,
(Indian National Army),
25th August, 1943.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
Sipah-Salar.
(Supreme Commander)

TO I. N. A. OFFICERS

Brother Officers ! It is my wish that we should be familiar among ourselves, and all of us should know what is our object, what are our duties and responsibilities and how to discharge these duties and responsibilities satisfactorily.

First of all, I will myself tell you something about me. Because, I wish to let you know what is my individuality and what is my individual life, as in future, we shall have to work together and tread the same path.

After the university career, I entered the political world. The most important question at the time was this : What Indians did during the last war ; what was the result and what were the experiences and lessons we got for the future ? In India and in England it was our experience that the policy of our leaders was wrong. Of course, we are depending upon our leaders for action. But we young men and students were thoroughly disappointed. In our minds there was only one idea that the mistake committed by our leaders in the last war should not be committed again. We thought, 'if we get an opportunity in future, we will not make such a mistake.'

There was another big question. In Europe, after the war, in the year 1918 and 1919, there were many changes ; new Governments were coming into existence, which had not existed before the war. The Czechs

ceased to be a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Another race, the Poles, formed their own Government. When I went to Europe, I had the opportunity of meeting two or three Indian leaders there. They all advised me that if we want to do anything for our Motherland, we should study the history of the war and the experiences of such history should be utilised for our fight against Britain. We began to learn and understand things. We came to know how some leaders of Czechs went out of their country for doing propaganda and for getting help from the enemies of Austria and Hungary. They joined hands with Britain and France and both the Governments helped these leaders, and even recognised their rights to have free Governments after the war. Britain and France assured them of all help and co-operation in their efforts. They began their work in right earnest. Czech nationalists of the Austro-Hungarian army who fell in the hands of the enemy also volunteered for the Czech National Army which was 20,000 strong. This army fought hand in hand with Britain and France against Austria, Hungary and Germany.

The Poles, too, formed an army of 30,000 and took part in the war. It was their fortune that Germany and her allies were defeated, and after the war, they were able to form their own Governments.

There is no reason why we should not also go by the same path. Taking advantage of the international situation, we should fight shoulder to shoulder with enemies of Britain, to get complete freedom.

The people of Ireland also took advantage of the

war. They openly revolted under the Sinn Fein Party against the British. In the city of Dublin, the Sinn Fein Party had an army of 3,000 only. They had also an army of 10,000 strong in the country. Something went wrong with their plans and the rebellion that started in Dublin did not spread to the countryside. Anyhow they kept the city of Dublin under their control for 8 days. This revolution occurred during Easter, and so the revolution is called the Easter Revolution. Though the revolt did not materialise in 1916, it again broke out in the year 1919, just after the war. They had only 5,000 volunteers. This time it was different. War was over. From England troops could be brought to suppress the rebellion. Even then this army of volunteers numbering 5,000 carried on their fight and in the end the British were brought to their knees.

In 1921, we began working in India with all experiences that we had from the study of the history of the last war. At the time, as you know, Mahatma Gandhi had launched the non-co-operation movement. The Khilafat Committee was also working hand in hand with the Congress. We too took part in the Non-co-operation Movement enthusiastically with the specific idea in mind that, when an opportunity offers itself, we should take up arms against the British. We knew also that Germany would try again to take revenge and then would come our opportunity as well.

We joined the Congress in 1921 under Mahatma Gandhi, because there was no other way to carry on our fight and keep up the honour of the nation in the face of terrible British oppression. Hindus and Muslims

were united. But we knew definitely that by the Civil Disobedience campaign India would not be completely free. Of course, the movement did create political consciousness among the people, and prepared the people for armed struggle. From 1921 onwards we were waiting for an opportunity to take up arms, and that opportunity was a war in Europe.

This is not my individual view but it is the view of many young men who came under Mahatma Gandhi in 1921. Certainly there were a few young men who believed in non-violence, but many of them were supporters of violence and they were awaiting the proper time to strike.

I went to Europe in 1933 and remained up to 1936. My idea in going to Europe was, to study the situation and to know what was going to happen next. During my stay in Europe I visited Berlin and made acquaintance with certain Government Officials and met Fuehrer Hitler. I plainly asked them when they are going to strike at Britain so that we might also take up arms simultaneously against the British. They replied that they were not at all going to fight Britain and they hoped that all their demands would be fulfilled by Britain. They were aiming at compromise with Britain. However they expressed their sympathy for Indian freedom. I argued with them about the British hypocrisy and their cunning policy as Indians know best about that by personal experience, and warned them that, when Britain thought that German power was getting stronger, she would openly come into conflict with Germany. In the end I told them : " Bri-

tain is our traditional enemy. We will fight her, whether you support us or not." But I had no doubt that war would start in Europe very soon. Anybody could understand this by having a look at the preparations that were going on in Germany. When I went to Europe this time, I reminded them of what I said in the year 1936.

My idea in saying this is that, I came back from Europe with a strong conviction of what was going to happen. The new party that came in power in Germany was always for a fight. I clearly understood that Germany's demands would not be accepted by the British and if the British found the Germans growing a bit strong, they would fight the Nazis. In 1939 when I went to Europe I noticed some changes. Germany was beginning to understand that the British would never fully accept her proposals. In September, 1938, when the Germans put forward the case of Sudetan Germans, Mr. Chamberlain rushed to Munich to come to an agreement with Herr Hitler. There was a time when all parleys of international value generally used to take place in London. But when I saw the British Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, going to Germany leaving his own country and when he accepted the German demands, I realised the secret. Britain was becoming weaker and Germany was getting stronger. It was the first time in the History of the British that a Prime Minister of England, relegating the usual custom, proceeded to a foreign country to accept the demands of another nation.

Then I started doing propaganda in India that a

war in Europe was inevitable and it was the duty of Indians to be alert and to try to force Britain to accept our demands, and if they did not, to prepare ourselves for a fight. I was noticing the reaction of the public to my propaganda, and I was convinced that the full support of the general public was with me. But our leaders were thinking in a different way, particularly Mahatma Gandhi, whose policy was to wait and see. But we young men were not deterred by this policy. We redoubled our propaganda. We were asking the people of India to take advantage of the golden opportunity that would be presented to them in the near future.

In the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri in March 1939, I tabled one resolution demanding freedom for India within six months and laying down that, in case this demand was not conceded in the period, we should prepare the people for a fight against Britain with whatever strength we might possess. It was, of course, in the nature of an ultimatum and the resolution was introduced, keeping in view the tension in international situation and knowing full well that a conflagration would begin in Europe within six months.

When the war actually started in September in 1939 the public began to realise that what I said in March was correct. It was our duty at that time to unite all nationalist forces and bring pressure on British Government to concede our demand, and if unsuccessful, to fight for it. But our leaders were thinking and acting in a different way. They were under the

impression that Britain would become weak in the course of the war, and to get the Indian help, they would come to an honourable agreement with the Congress. I tried to point out the absurdity of such a notion and told them " whatever might be the weakness of the British during the war they would never allow to rid themselves of the power in India. Without India they would not be able to prosecute the war successfully. They would begin looting and plundering the country's resources as they got weaker and weaker."

In March 1940 when the Congress Session was in progress, we expected a forward step. But Gandhiji had his own way. He was to wait and see. We began to lose our minds, come what may, to start our own movement. An anti-war movement was started throughout the country. It became somewhat serious ; many people courted imprisonment. Meanwhile I got information that Gandhiji himself would launch a Civil Disobedience Movement in November as the Government did nothing. I heaved a sigh of relief that if Gandhiji started a movement, it will have world-wide repercussions. The whole world will come to know that Indians are fighting for freedom. All the nations will think that Indians deserve freedom. We will surely get the sympathy of the world to have our honour saved.

But I thought that by the weapon of Civil Disobedience alone we will not achieve freedom. The movement would surely bring pressure on the Government and hamper its war effort, but the Government would never consider our demand. That was my idea.

We were thinking what to do, what new method should be adopted. Young men were doing their bit with bombs and revolvers. We got into touch with these young revolutionaries. I knew their strength. They were real revolutionaries with high spirits. But their strength and sacrifices were not enough to achieve complete independence for our Motherland.

It was then, we began scanning the pages of history and found many a lesson. The American example was before us. I began to realise, and even came to the conclusion, that without outside help the Indian revolution will not be successful. The United States got a lot of help from France. Even Generals were despatched from France. In the history of the world, it is not a new thing to get assistance from other nations for winning freedom for one's country.

The news we got in India were twisted and more of propaganda nature. It was natural that Britain should do so. But to understand the real situation of the world by remaining inside India was not possible. What would be the result of the war and how the war would end and who would win in the end? What were the ideas of Indians abroad, how they were thinking about India's fight for freedom, how to get help for India's independence and whether it was possible to get material help from the enemies of Britain? These were the questions which made us think that somebody should be sent outside India. I thought of sending some persons to foreign countries. Certainly it was a most difficult task, strictly restricted as our movements were. I thought also that such a person

should leave India as the British really "understand" and whom the Indian people seriously take. At last I decided myself to get out of India.

I was in jail at that time. To get out of the jail was a difficult problem. To slip away from jail would make it difficult for me to leave the country in view of the British C. I. D. At last I decided to go on hunger-strike. This decision was taken after steeling my heart, that either I would die or get out of the jail. When my decision was made known to the Government it created a stir in the official circles as they never wanted to see me die in the jail. The Superintendent of the jail came and entreated me not to undertake hunger-strike. He argued that if all the prisoners went on hunger-strike the King's Government would come to a standstill, and warned me that if I died in the jail, it would be my own responsibility. My hunger-strike went on for six days. They tried to forcibly feed me but I was determined to die the way of Jatindra Nath Das. After seven days, a secret conference took place at Government House. They wanted to do something as the medical report about my condition was serious. They set me free with the idea of re-arresting me after a month. I got information of this in good time. Meanwhile some arrangement could be made for my escape from India and I left my country.

Experience, I had a lot, after leaving my homeland. I was listening into both the radios. I had the privilege from the German authorities to hear the enemy radio and propaganda. I had the opportunity

of visiting all the fortifications and other defences all over Europe. After these personal experiences, I have no doubt what will be the result of the war. As I said in your parade the other day, the war will be a prolonged one, but there will surely be one result, that is, the collapse of Britain and her Empire.

Now the question is this. What is the position of India under these circumstances ? The destruction of the British Empire is certain, and the whole map of the world will be changed. What will be the position of India in the new map ? The British will be driven out of India and what should be our position then ? We should think about it. There are three alternatives.

One is to keep away from the war and to have a neutral attitude. The second is to go and beg for freedom from the new invader and the third is to take part in the war with the enemies of Britain and qualify ourselves for freedom.

I know what alternative you prefer. For us there is but one alternative, that is, to fight hand in hand with the enemies of Britain and contribute our share in the destruction of British Empire.

The internal situation in India is very grave. It is our duty to encourage and support the forces that are in India, doing their bit against Britain. What is the internal situation in India today ? The whole population is against the British Government.

People are carrying on the fight without arms. To suppress millions of unarmed people, a small army of thousands equipped with all modern arms is enough. When I had the privilege of meeting Herr Hitler, I

took the liberty of asking this question of India and sought his advice as to what path we should tread. The Chancellor of Germany, who is himself an experienced revolutionary, giving his opinion, said that a well-equipped army of a few thousands would be able to control millions of unarmed revolutionaries. He added that so long as an external power did not knock at the frontier no change could be expected in the internal situation. We should form part of this external power. We hear so much nowadays of a second front. It is we, who should create a second front in India. It would have been possible for them to face us in both the fronts, had not the Axis Powers crippled and maimed them. The Axis Powers had made our work easier. We are thankful to them for doing this, but at the same time, it is incumbent upon us to do our duty towards our Motherland. To do this work an army of 50,000 is enough, but we should be prepared to raise an army of 300,000.

The question now is this : What are the duties of this army ? There are two duties which this army will have to perform. The first and important duty is, of course, to fight the enemy and free our Motherland; the second one is also no less important. After the enemy is defeated, we will have to do tremendous work in India. By freeing India our duty will not be over. Our army is a revolutionary one, and as revolutionaries we have two duties to perform. The first is, as I said before, to drive the enemy out of India, and the second duty is to form a powerful army in India that will face any nation or nations put toge-

ther, and to defend India forever against foreign invasion.

Friends ! We all should think that we will never remain slaves. We have already had a very good taste of this slavery. To protect our motherland from any foreign aggressors, it is the duty of all of you to form the strongest possible army in the world. As far as ability and efficiency are concerned, I may tell you that you are second to none. We were not getting proper training and opportunity but whenever these two things were offered to Indians, they have shown their mettle. Not only in military, but in politics, economics, science, sports, etc., we Indians are not in any way backward. Indians are efficient and able. The Almighty has created them like that. Of course, we have to learn much from the world and we are prepared to do so. And with this learning and the natural efficiency and ability of ours and with full confidence, we are forming this army.

For the success of an army, military training only will not suffice. Take the case of France. Up to 1939 the French army was considered the best in the world. It was really so. They had a lot of materials, aeroplanes, heavy guns, etc. In addition there was the 'impregnable' Maginot Line to protect them. Why then did France fall within so short a time ? There was only one reason and that was, there was no *josh* in them. After the last war, such a feeling was created in France that they should take rest as the enemy had been defeated once for all. That was not so in Germany. In Germany the cry was 'revenge'. That nation

was thinking in terms of revenge and sacrifice. That is why the French people met their disastrous defeat. The French people had lost their spirit and the Germans were seething with the spirit.

After the Azad Hind Fauj parade, I had a talk with Premier Tojo who congratulated me after the grand parade. He also said that the success of an army mainly depends on the moral training they get. I assured him that that will be given special attention. The Nipponese attached much importance to this "spirit". For instance, see the spirit of the defenders of Attu Island. They knew they could not win against such a numerically superior army. They could have easily surrendered. But they did not do so. It was against the honour and glory of their Motherland. The garrison of 2,000 sacrificed their lives fighting the enemy.

I may also mention about the brave defenders of Stalingrad. They were at one time surrounded by the enemy, and they were even given an ultimatum by the Germans to surrender. They did not surrender and carried on their fight, even though the enemy were 200,000 strong that surrounded them. Such was the spirit of the brave defenders of Stalingrad.

We should create such a spirit in our men. The responsibility of the Officers is great. A sepoy can afford to leave the battlefield but an officer cannot do so. He is a responsible man and only an army led by such responsible officers will be successful in the end. So, your work is tremendous. There is no other work greater and nobler than the work you have undertaken.

Our sisters and brothers in India are facing even bigger ordeals with cheer and enthusiasm. For the Indian independence and for India's welfare, there is no greater work than this.

While in Europe, I tried and I am successful in forming a small national army. I have brought photos of the army. In Berlin and Rome Indians are thinking and doing things as you are thinking and doing here. Everywhere in the world, wherever there are Indians, a new spirit, a new awakening has come among Indians.

AN AMPHIBIOUS MONSTER

Speech delivered at Kuala Lumpur on 5th September, 1943.

Friends ! I want to thank you most heartily for the purse you have presented to me this evening. It is a handsome purse but I shall call it handsome if you regard it as a first instalment. Considering what other towns are paying and within a very short time, considering also what Ipoh has paid as a first instalment I am sure that Indians in Kuala Lumpur will be anxious to see that this contribution is multiplied at least five times, and, if you cannot do that, I am afraid you will be doing a great disservice to your country. You are very much proud of your city and rightly too. It is the second city in this part of the world and if you enjoy the prestige you must fulfil the responsibilities that follow from that distinction and prestige.

I will now tell you that what we want in cash only is a part of our total requirements. The time has come when we have to give our all in the service of our motherland. The days of minimum sacrifice are over. The time has come when each and everyone of us has to think of the maximum sacrifice which he or she is able to offer, and that sacrifice has to be in human life, in money and in other resources which are necessary in order to equip a modern army for its marches. I am glad to know that you citizens of Kuala Lumpur and

Selangor State, are anxious to do your duty in every respect and my only remark and request to you is to expedite your collections as soon as possible ; so that our army may be equipped sooner than many expect and be ready to march to the field of action.

From my experience, I am convinced that so long as the Indian people remain unarmed, so long as the British Government has a modern army under its control and so long as we do not take up arms for our struggle for freedom, we shall not be able to achieve independence for India. I do not know one instance—one single instance—in the whole history of mankind where a nation has been able to achieve full independence without resorting to arms. But apart from history our natural experience in the course of several decades has convinced us that we have to take up arms in the final stage of our struggle if we want full independence and not a diluted form of it. So long as peace reigned all over the world, it was practically impossible for the Indian people to get arms and fight with arms. It was impossible for the people inside India. It was also impossible for the people outside India, but thanks to this war, what was impossible four or five years ago has today become possible. If you want arms, you can get them not inside but outside India. If you want to build up a modern army and equip it with all modern weapons, you can do so today. Five years ago you could not do it even if you wanted to. That is why I say this war has been a god-sent opportunity to us. It has given us a unique opportunity for achieving not Dominion Status or Colonial self-government, but full

and complete independence.

The only question I would like to put to you as Indians is, whether you really want full and complete independence. If you do so, you must pay the price. You must organise a complete modern army and march with that army to India.

Today the British have one front—the Indian National Front, you may call it—inside India. The British with their army are able to cope with this Indian National Front. If you can put up a second front—not a bogus second front, but a real second front—then it will be impossible for the British to maintain their position in the country. I am convinced when the Indian National Army appears on the frontier of India its very appearance will be a clarion call to the people in general and also to the Indian army, to rally round the banner of Indian revolution. This is not a wishful dream on my part. I know that people at home are fully aware of our activities in East Asia and the British too are aware, but we do not care. The time has come when we could openly proclaim to the whole world what we have been doing, what we are doing and what we are going to do in the future. Our brethren in the Indian army who today are standing under the Union Jack are anxiously waiting for the Indian National Army on the continent of India. That is the position at home without any exaggeration. It is therefore our duty to hurry up with our work and see that the National Army goes to the aid of India as soon as possible.

Ever since the existence of the Indian National

Army was announced to the world and its intention of marching to Delhi, you will be surprised to learn that there has been a complete change in the tactics of British propaganda. Up to recently British propagandists have been saying that today Nippon has become the enemy of India and that its army intends to march into India, but ever since they realised that the Indian National Army had been formed and is getting ready to march into India, there has been a complete change in the attitude and also in the tactics of British propagandists and now they are anxiously trying to work up the Indian people to take a stand against the Indian National Army. The British Government knows, as much as we do, what the attitude of the Indian people and the Indian army will be when our army appears on the frontier of India, and that is why they are anxious to do their best to win over the Indian people to their side, so that they may take a stand against the Indian National Army.

But the most unexpected surprise came to me when I was told that British propagandists on the occasion of a Hindu festival had appealed to the Hindus of India to get ready to fight their brothers who are going to march in from outside. These British propagandists even went so far as to say that the good old days have come back again !

Friends ! The Anglo-Americans have found out now a new Napoleon. According to the Anglo-Americans, Lord Louis Mountbatten is amphibious. He is a monster in land and sea operations. Well, what is the career of this amphibious monster ? He is the hero of

Dieppe. Dieppe was an attempt by the British army to land in France and to expel the Germans from that part. Within 24 hours they were completely wiped out and there ended all the heroic exploits of Lord Louis Mountbatten ! Because of his achievement at Dieppe he has been made Commander-in-Chief of the South East Asia Command. I challenge you to show me one country in the world today where promotions are made not for success, not for victories but for defeats ! It is a unique achievement of the British army and its Government in this war. I can assure Lord Louis Mountbatten that a much bigger and greater Dieppe is waiting for him in East Asia.

Perhaps, there are some people living in East Asia, and even in Malay, who are still hoping and dreaming that the British will come back. We have heard of them. There are a few such men in Syonan also. I can only pity them. You know what Syonan was and is today. The British—I do not say, I only repeat it—took twenty years to build Singapore and how may days to get out ? Seven days. This is an achievement ! and still there are people who believe they will come back ! The biggest bulwark of the Empire is now the biggest graveyard of that empire and it shall be a graveyard. The days of the British Empire are over. If you have any doubt turn over the pages of history. Every Empire has had its glory and also its decline. The British Empire had its glory during the last war and since then its decline has become very rapid ! and we have witnessed with our own eyes the last phase of the decline.

I always said that the last war brought about the disappearance of two Empires—the Ottoman Empire of the Turks and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This war will see the end of the British Empire and out of the ashes of that Empire will rise a Free India. The two things are identical—the defeats and dismemberment of the British Empire and the creation of an independent India. If you want India to be free, you have to work and fight for the overthrow and dismemberment of the British Empire.

British propaganda of late has adopted new tactics and that is to utilise to the best advantage the small success they have achieved in Africa and Sicily. If you were to listen to the propaganda that British agents have been carrying on all over the world, you would think that with the occupation of Sicily they have already won the war. I know something of Europe, not only of peacetime Europe but wartime Europe, and I know all these places where fighting has taken place. I know also the strength and the weakness of the Axis Powers in Europe and from experience I want to assure you that whatever may happen in Europe has no bearing on the situation in India or East Asia. Whatever may happen in Europe, India will be ready if only we put forward the required effort. Therefore, do not hesitate for one moment by any propaganda the enemy may carry on today or tomorrow and be firm in your belief and faith that it has become possible for Indian people to achieve independence.

First of all is it a very big effort that we have to bring an army of 200,000 to 300,000 to India ? Look

at the millions of people fighting on all fronts in different parts of the world ! For the salvation of 38 crores an army of 300,000 or even 400,000 is nothing at all ! and it is possible for the people of East Asia to contribute enough men for this army. It is possible also for the people in East Asia to contribute money and every material for the equipment of this army. Therefore, let us concentrate all our energy on the one task of organising an army and bringing it to perfection as soon as possible.

Friends, our task today is to bring perfection as soon as possible to the army that exists today, along with it we have to expand our army because the war is going to be a long and hard one. We want more and more young men to come in and get trained. We congratulate you that you have in the heart of Kuala Lumpur one of our camps where Indian young men are trained for the coming fight for freedom. Well, it is not only in Syonan and Kuala Lumpur that they were being trained today ; Malay is dotted with camps and many of these camps were formerly camps of the British army. They have been turned over to us for our use. That reminds me that when we go to India we shall also find readymade barracks for our national Army. We won't have to build new barracks. From Calcutta to Bombay and from Rawalpindi to Madras, there are splendid barracks not for the Indian army but for the British tommy, but these splendid barracks are going to be taken for our Indian National Army and I promise to give the British in return all the prisons for their use !

Friends, to defeat Britain we shall need help from outside. The enemy is asking for help all over the world. The almighty British Empire "over which the sun never sets" that mighty British Empire is going round the world with the begging bowl! It is not merely at Washington that they are asking for help but all over the world, even the poor Indian people, the enslaved Indian people, are not spared. Even Indian people have to give their share in men, money, munitions and war materials. They are begging even Indian people to help them in their hour of need. We have to fight today not merely the might of Britain but the combined might of Britain and her Allies—a most powerful combination. If we are to fight and win, we shall need help and take help when the time comes, but there will be humiliation in accepting or asking for help when we have not first done our duty.

At this juncture, the duty of the people of East Asia is to put forward the maximum effort. Remember you have an opportunity of doing something which your countrymen in other parts of the world cannot do. What can Indians in Europe, Africa, America or even in England do? They are helpless. I know many of them are dying to serve and fight for their country's freedom but it is impossible for them to do so. They are unable to organise an army or join the National Army. But all that is within your reach; if you only make it your mission, you can join the National Army and work for its success. Therefore, when the call of sacrifice reaches your ears, do not flinch. Thank Providence that She has given you of

all Indians in the world a unique opportunity to serve your country and fight for your country's independence !

A RED LETTER DAY

Today is a Red letter day in the annals of the Philippines. To-day 18 million Filipinos will regain the complete independence of their republic, which America robbed 42 years ago. The rebirth of the Philippine republic, within two and a half months of the rebirth of the independent state of Burma, is an occasion for rejoicing for all the nations of Asia and particularly for those who are still fighting for their independence. The proclamation of the independence of the Philippines republic to-day, is of special significance and importance to India as it is a message of hope and cheer to 388 millions of my countrymen who are fighting the British for their independence. Having been expelled once and for all by the Japanese forces from every corner of East Asia, the Anglo-Americans have now converted India into their last stronghold in Asia. But, the day is not far off when India too will expel the Anglo-Americans and re-gain her independence. Meanwhile, I extend my heartfelt felicitations to my Filipino brethren on the achievement of their cherished goal of independence after over 40 years of American domination.

I also offer my most sincere congratulations to the veteran revolutionary leader, General Emilio Aguinaldo on his living to see the victory

of the cause for which he fought the Americans over 40 years ago; I heartily congratulate Dr. Jose Laurel on his election as first President of the Philippine republic and Mr. Jorge Vargas on the achievement of the goal for which he has toiled night and day, since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War.

AT BAHADUR SHAH'S TOMB

A solemn and impressive ceremony took place at the Mausoleum of Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Free India, on Sunday, September 26, 1943. Netaji paid profound homage to the mortal remains of Bahadur Shah who fought for the overthrow of the British Rule in India. Amongst those who attended the function were his Excellency Dr. Ba Maw and his Colleagues.

Your Excellency and Friends ! Today we have assembled here near the tomb of Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Free India. It is perhaps strange, may be a lucky coincidence of history, that while the remains of India's last Emperor rest on the soil of Burma, the remains of the last king of free Burma, now rest on the soil of India.

We in India and in Burma have all along felt bound together historically by the most profound ties. And this coincidence of history is one of the most convincing proofs of these ties between Your Excellency's nation and ours.

We are, both of our nations, passing through a common fight against our common foe and we therefore consider it to be in the fitness of things to have a small celebration before the mortal remains of our last Emperor, so that on the one side

we might rouse the fire that burns within us and at the same time, strengthen further the ties that have bound Burma and India so long and that will bind us together for all time.

We are profoundly grateful to Your Excellency and to the honourable members of the Government for the honour that has been done us by your gracious presence in this function,—a function which is pregnant with important and historical events in the days to come.

As I have done so before, once again I should like to express our unshakable determination to fight with our Burmese friends, shoulder to shoulder, assured of the magnanimous help and support of Nippon ; so that we may bring about the final overthow of British imperialism which will on the one side bring India her lost liberty and at the same time remove once for all the menace to Burma's safety and independence.

This time we expressed our unshakable determination before a sacred memorial, before the mortal remains of the last fighter for India's freedom, the man who was an Emperor among men and at the same time, a man among Emperors. We cherish the memory of Bahadur Shah. We Indians, regardless of religious faiths, cherished the memory of Bahadur Shah, not because he was the man who gave the clarion call to his countrymen to fight the enemy from without, but because he was the man under whose Flag fought Indians from all Provinces, Indians professing different

religious faiths, the man under whose sacred Flag Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs or at least freedom-loving Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, fought side by side in the war that has been dubbed by the English historians as the Sepoy Mutiny, but which the Indians call as the First War of Independence. And now when we are engaged in the last war for India's independence, it is all the more necessary for us to renew our unshakable determination, to fight this last war for independence to a finish, regardless of all sufferings and sacrifices, regardless of all difficulties on our path, regardless of the length of this war, so that at long last, the enemy, the common enemy of Burma and India will be finally overthrown and we will be free not only within our homes, but free as comrades marching shoulder to shoulder, to fulfil the common destiny of mankind.

Your Excellency, with us it is the practice to offer donations and contributions at shrines like this. As a token of our inner feelings and faith I can think of no better donation or Nazar than to offer in the name of the last Hero of India's First War of Independence, Emperor Bahadur Shah, a small contribution of Rs. 250,000 to be handed over to your Excellency as a very small token of our Love and admiration for Burma and all that Burma stands for, a small donation, which your Excellency may utilise in a manner considered best by yourself.

And now I shall close these few remarks by

quoting the English meaning of a couplet which was composed by Bahadur Shah himself : " As long as the last particle of faith exists in the souls of India's Freedom Fighters, the Sword of India shall continue to penetrate the heart of London ".

STATEMENT ON THE PROCLAMATION

As a student of History and, in particular, of revolutions in different parts of the world during 22 years of public life, I always felt that what India was lacking in her fight for freedom were two things—A National Army and a National Government to lead that Army to battle. In the course of the present war, thanks to the brilliant victories achieved by armed forces of Nippon, it became possible for Indians in East Asia to organise the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army.

The creation of a National Army gave reality and seriousness to the whole independence movement in East Asia. If this army had not been organised, the independence league in East Asia would have been a mere propaganda organ. With the creation of a National Army, it became possible, as well as necessary, to set up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). The Government is born out of the Independence League for the purpose of launching and directing the final struggle for India's freedom.

In setting up this Provisional Government, we are, on the one hand, meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation and are, on the other, following in the footsteps of history. In recent times, the Irish people set their Provisional Gov-

ernment in 1916. The Czechs did the same during the last World War and, after the last world war, the Turks, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, set up their provisional government in Anatolia.

In our case, the provisional government of Azad Hind will not be like a normal peace time government. Its functions and its composition will be of a unique kind. It will be a fighting organisation, the main object of which will be to launch and to conduct the last war against the British and their allies in India. Consequently, only such departments will be run by the Government as will be necessary for the launching and the prosecution of the struggle for liberty. The Cabinet will consist of a certain number who will represent the civil departments of the government—while there will be others representing the Armed Forces of the Government. Since the purpose of the Government is to fight for independence, the armed forces are given a large representation on the Cabinet.

Besides the ordinary Ministers of the Cabinet, provision has been made for a number of Advisers to the Cabinet. In this manner, the Provisional Government will maintain close and organic connection with the entire Indian community in East Asia and mobilise all their resources for the coming struggle.

When the Provisional Government is transferred to Indian soil, it will assume the functions

of a normal government, operating in its own territory. Many new departments will then be started.

With the formation of a Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Indian Independence movement has obtained all the pre-conditions of success. It remains now to start the final struggle for freedom. This will begin when the Indian National Army crosses the frontier of India and commences its historic march to Delhi. This march will end only when the Anglo-Americans are expelled from India and the Indian National Flag is hoisted over the Viceroy's house in New Delhi.

WOMEN OF INDIA

Speech delivered on the occasion of the opening of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment Camp.

Sisters and Brothers ! The opening of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment Training camp, is an important and significant function ; it is a very important landmark in the progress of our Movement in East Asia.

To realise its importance, you should bear in mind, that ours is not a merely political movement. We are on the other hand engaged in the great task of regenerating our Nation. We are, in fact, ushering a new life for the Indian Nation, and it is necessary that our new life should be built on sound foundations. Remember that ours is not a propaganda stunt ; we are in fact witnessing the re-birth of India. And it is only in the fitness of things, that there should be a stir of New Life among our women-folk.

Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. The history of the great women in India is as ancient as the Vedic period. The greatness of Indian womanhood had its roots in those early days when India had its Sanskrit culture. The same India which produced great



women in the past produced the Rani of Jhansi at a grave hour in India's history. And today while we are facing the gravest hour in our History, I have confidence that Indian Womanhood will not fail to rise to the occasion. If for the war of independence of Jhansi, India had to produce and it did produce a Lakshmi Bai, today for the war of independence of the whole of India, to liberate thirty-eight crores of Indians, India has to produce and shall produce, thousands of Ranis of Jhansi.

In the same way as we have figures like Maitreyi in India's ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Ahalya Bai of Maharashtra, Rani Bhawani of Bengal, Raziya Begum. I have every confidence in the fertility of the Indian soil. I am confident that India, as in the past, will also produce the best flowers of Indian womanhood.

When in 1921 a new political life started in India, thousands, nay, lacs of our sisters also, joined the movement and came forward to make sacrifices. In those days it was a great thing to go to prison. Our Indian brothers and sisters got ready to undergo the ordeal of prison life and I remember still, how in December 1921 at Calcutta, the two jails were full. The Britishers built two more jails and these were also packed in a few days!

When the Britishers found that the Indians were not restrained by fear, they changed their tactics. They resorted to the method of throwing

leaders into prison and using lathis and bullets against the masses. Joining the civil disobedience movement then, meant willingness to face lathi-charges and gun-fire and the Indians—not only men but also women—got ready to face lathi-charges and gun-fire. I cannot forget an incident in Calcutta when we held a procession against the orders of the Government and when Police tried to break the procession by lathi charge, some sisters made a cordon around us (coming between us and the police), without flinching the lathi charges. Thus, I have witnessed while in India how the spirit and determination of our sisters have been growing stage by stage !

Not only in the history of the Passive Resistance Movement, but in the history of the Revolutionary Party also, we have the examples of our brave sisters who have played a noble part. I know my sisters who became daring revolutionaries. If one type of courage was necessary for passive resistance, another and more active courage is necessary for revolutionary efforts, and in this too, I found, our sisters were not wanting. In 1931 an English Magistrate was shot by two girls ; the age of one was 16, the age of the other was 17. In India even ordinary men will shudder before magistrates, but these two young sisters bravely went to the house of the Magistrate and fired him ! You can easily imagine what wonderful courage those young sisters must have had !

Such courage does not descend from the skies! It comes from the soil of India; it has its roots in the age-old traditions of India's past.

Since 1928, I have been taking interest in women's organisations in India and I found that, given the opportunity, our sisters could rise to any occasion. There was one *Rastra Mahila Sangha* of ladies in Bengal which did splendid work. In December 1928 a volunteer corps of 500 women was formed which was not only run on sound lines, but their parades and their discipline gave us great hopes and confirmed my belief in the fact that given the impetus and opportunity, Indian women could perform duties entrusted to them in a befitting manner. I have also seen women's organisations in India giving training in arms available in a slave country, like lathies and daggers and the way our sisters were progressing was remarkable.

And so when I began to undertake the task of guiding the Indian independence movement, I felt that our sisters should also be given the opportunity to serve India at this grave emergency. I consulted many and I was told by some that though to raise a women's regiment might be possible in India, it would be an impossible task in East Asia. What they said did not affect my conviction and my determination. And today you have before your own eyes what our sisters have accomplished. Their work was started in July, and if only now the training Camp for them is

being opened, the delay is not due to any shortcoming on their part. The delay was due to our difficulties in finding the accommodation and making the necessary arrangements. Meanwhile, I know that our sisters are getting impatient and anxious. I heard that they were intending to lead a deputation to me, to ask me, whether I have forgotten them. I feel happy today, that the camp is ready and the camp is being opened today on the anniversary of the birthday of the Rani of Jhansi.

I may at this juncture say a few words about the Rani of Jhansi. When the Rani of Jhansi started her fight, her age was only 20. You can easily imagine what it would have been for a girl of 20, riding a horse, and wielding her sword in the open battle. You can easily realise what courage and spirit she must have had. The English Commander who fought against her said that "she was the best and the bravest of the rebels." He made this admission because Jhansi Rani's bravery was something which he could not hide, as he himself had to fight against her. First she fought from the Jhansi Fort and when the Fort was besieged, she escaped with a party to Kalpi, from where she put up a gallant fight. Then she had to retreat from this battle front ; she made an alliance with Tatya Topi, attacked and captured Gwalior Fort and using that Fort as the base, continued the battle and in this last and great battle, she died fighting.

Imagine what amount of courage would have been necessary to carry on the fight in spite of more than one defeat ! This 20 year old Rani had the courage and showed a valour which shall be a source of inspiration to Indians for generations to come.

Unfortunately, Jhansi Rani was defeated ; it was not her defeat ; it was the defeat of India. She died ; but her spirit can never die. India can once again produce Jhansi Ranis and march on to victory.

One hundred and fiftysix of our sisters, are going to start their training in the camp which is being opened today. But I hope that their number at Syonan will reach thousand very soon. Training camps for women have also been started in Thailand and Burma ; but at Syonan we have the Central Camp and I feel that in this central camp we should at least have one thousand potential Ranis of Jhansi.

WHERE IS YOUR BANK BOOK ?

Speech delivered at The All Mali Chettiars and other Indian Merchants Conference on 25th October, 1943.

Friends ! I would first give my hearty welcome to our sisters and brothers, who have come to attend this conference from all parts of Mali. You have come here to take part in a conference, which, I am confident, will prove to be of great significance and importance. We have heard considerable assurance of loyalty towards our great cause and this conference is going to put that loyalty to the test.

I do not propose to deliver a long speech, because long speeches are not necessary. Firstly, I would appeal to you to realise what each one of you would do, if the responsibility of liberating India was on your shoulders ; to free India is a responsibility which lies on the shoulders of every Indian in East Asia, and I hope that you will realise this great responsibility which has devolved upon you.

When an army goes to the battle-field, a responsibility of fighting and winning rests equally on every individual of the army, whether he is an officer, or an N.C.O. or an ordinary soldier. Only that army will win, every soldier of which

is ready to do his duty. You must realise that the Indians in East Asia have today become an army which has to fight and win. As in the case of every soldier at the front, so also on every Indian in East Asia, a great responsibility has fallen. I know that some of you are rich and some of you are poor. I know some of you are educated while others are not. Whatever be your differences, I want you to bear in mind, that all of you are equal as far as your duty is concerned. I want every Indian in East Asia to do his duty.

When in an army some one is appointed as an officer, it becomes his duty to go forward himself and to lead others to go forward. Syonan has assumed a great importance in our fight in East Asia ; the Headquarters of the I. N. A. is here ; and only recently the provisional Government of Azad Hind has also been established here. Syonan was once a fortress of Britain, but today it has become the Headquarters of the Indian Independence movement in East Asia.

Syonan's relation to other places in East Asia is the same as the relation of a Commander to the troops of his regiment. The success of a battle not only depends upon the way every soldier performs his duty, but it also depends on the correct lead and right example given by the officer Commanding the army.

You will thus realise that any voice which rises from Syonan will have its echoes all over East Asia ; that any action which you take here

will have its repercussions all over East Asia. The part which Indians in various parts of East Asia are going to play will greatly depend on the example which you are going to set from Syonan. I want you to remember that your responsibilities are great, because you have to give the lead, you have to provide the inspiration for Indians in other parts of East Asia.

I want you to think for yourselves and visualise what a Free Indian Government would have done when faced with a grave emergency like a foreign invasion. Supposing India was a free country and supposing there was the danger of an attack by a foreign enemy, what would the Government of Free India do ? Would they not have started Total Mobilisation then ? You could easily understand that this is the normal duty of any free government. Keeping this fact in mind, I want you to realise what your duties are in our great attempt to get our independence and maintain it.

Think also of what the procedure would be in a free country when it is in a state of war. Would there be meetings and appeals as is the case with us so far ? No ! a free government, on the other hand, would issue only a call for all able-bodied men between specific ages to assemble at a certain place on a certain day at a certain hour. Voluntarily and without any grumbling people will respond to the call. Why, because people of independent countries know that they

have to make sacrifices for their liberty. And when a free government needs money to defend its independence, it does not proceed to call any meetings and start begging campaigns.

On the contrary, free governments prepare budgets of their requirements, think of ways and means to collect that money, keeping in view financial conditions of the people and straightaway proceed to levy the necessary taxation. I would ask you whether any man refuses to become a soldier or to contribute war taxes in a free country ? India is not yet free but we are free in heart and spirit. And by the establishment of the provisional government, we have become a free people.

Now it is our responsibility to liberate India and to establish a free government of India. If we feel that we are fit for independence, if we really desire independence, we should straightaway live and act as we would do, if we lived in free India under the aegis of our Free Government at the time of a grave national emergency. Whatever we would have done in a free India in response to a call of the free Indian Government, it has become our solemn duty to do forthwith. Look at the people of Germany and Nippon and how in those countries all the resources of the people have been mobilised by the governments. When it is the duty of a government to defend its own independence, they have to do it at any cost and they have to pool all the

resources of their countries.

Legally speaking, there is no private property when a country is in a state of war. The government has absolute right of the lives and properties of its people during such emergencies. We too are a free people with a free government. If you think that your wealth and possessions are your own, you are living in delusion. Every life and every property belongs to the nation when it is involved in a war. Your lives and your properties do not now belong to you ; they belong to India and India alone.

I have every confidence that if you realise this simple truth that we have to achieve independence by any means and at any cost, and that we are now a free people in a state of war, you will realise that nothing belongs to you, that your lives, properties and every thing, are no more your own.

If you do not want to realise this simple truth then you have another path clearly chalked out for you. If you do not want to be free, and shoulder your duties as a free Indian living under a free government, if you do not want independence and if you are not ready to pay the price of independence, you have only one course before you and that is the path taken by the Englishmen.

They lived as rulers once here, but now they have only one place left here and that is the prison. If you choose, you can go to prisons and

keep company with the Englishmen ! But remember this ; when the war is over, and India becomes independent you shall have no room in free India. If the Indian Government condescends to take pity on you the highest act of mercy which the Free Indian Government can do is to provide you with a third class ticket to leave the holy soil of India and go to England !

I have heard that some of the rich Indians in Malay are murmuring that I am harassing them. I want to have straight talk with them so that they can take a straight path hereafter. I have heard that some rich are thinking of changing their nationality to save themselves from making contributions towards the cause of Indian Independence. I have also heard that some are thinking of handing all their properties to the custodians and of claiming them back after the war is over.

Then again I have heard of people who are thinking of adopting a ruse of promising, say a lac of rupees, and trying to gain time by paying that amount in small instalments, hoping that sooner or later we will be going away to Burma and then to India and thus they would be able to evade payments.

But they are miserably in the wrong and it is not going to be so easy for them to deceive us and to shirk performing their duties. Whether we are in Syonan, whether we are in Burma or in India itself, our organisation shall remain here

because it has to remain here to carry on its work till India becomes completely independent and the last Englishman is driven out of India.

I would appeal to every Indian, whether he is a Hindu, Sikh, Muslim or Christian, not to fail in performing his duties. I know who are doing their duties and who are shirking them.

I have to liberate India and I shall make India independent by all means and at any cost ; and I would appeal to you to realise that it is your duty to shoulder the burden whether it pleases you or not. If you want to evade the issue, say plainly that you do not want independence, then as I have already told you, a different path lies ahead of you !

So long as you say you are Indians and you want to claim and make money in East Asia as Indians, you cannot shirk performing the duties which devolve on you as free Indians. Do not think that it is left to your option to perform those duties or not.

I have already said in my last speech in Syonan that I am making my last appeal. Today I am standing here not to make another appeal and I am not standing here as a beggar with outstretched hands. I stand here today representing the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, which has absolute right over your lives and properties.

I assure you, friends, I am not one who is accustomed to tall talking or making empty

threats. Whatever I say, I say after the fullest considerations, and I mean what I say. Even my enemies know that I seldom say what I do not mean. I have said that we have to get Indian Independence by all means and at any cost and that we have to carry out Total Mobilisation, voluntarily if possible, by compulsion if necessary, and I would reiterate to you that I mean what I say.

I am speaking at length to you to-day so that you shall not be under any delusion, so that you may not say afterwards that you were not given the fullest opportunity to come forward on a voluntary basis. It will be an honourable course for you and I would feel proud of you, if you come forward voluntarily. But if you do not choose to come forward voluntarily, then we are not going to remain slaves on that account.

I am really surprised to hear that there are a few people who are saying that it took years for them to amass their money and that they have many children to provide for. If on this account, they would have refused to make sacrifices, in a Free India under a Free Government, I would ask you to imagine, what would have happened to them ! Surely they would have been regarded and treated as enemies.

You could either be a friend or a foe. Do not think that only the Britishers are our enemies. Everyone who helps the Britishers, everyone who refuses to help our cause, is also our enemy, be-

cause we are engaged in a life and death struggle to-day.

Look at those who have volunteered to join the Indian National Army and who are now getting the necessary training. They do not know how many of them would live to see India free. They are getting ready with the one thought of shedding their last drop of blood. They are getting ready to go to a free India or to die on the way. There is no programme of retreat for them. Let the programme of retreat be reserved only for Wavell and his army !

The British Government has given him promotions and have now made him the Viceroy of India, because he has proved himself to be a past-master, in the art of saving his own life, by retreat after retreat ! The I. N. A. has no plan of saving its life by retreat. When the I. N. A. is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way, the rich people are asking me whether Total Mobilisation means, ten percent or five percent ! I would ask these people who are speaking of percentages whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only ten percent of their blood and save the rest !

You could see with your own eyes the spirit which is permeating our young men who have become recruits and our sisters who have rallied to the Colours. Fortunately, we are not short of men. The response has been so great that we have enough recruits to get prepared for a long war.

What we are wanting is similar response in money and materials. If we are all poor then we would be justified in seeking foreign help, but there are also rich people amongst us and our foreign friends also know it. When our own people have ample resources, it is sheer disgrace for us to stretch our hands to others for help.

When there are brothers and sisters coming for work in large numbers, offering their lives, I cannot understand why those who do not want to give their lives are even grumbling to part with their possessions. What is money after all? Compared with life money is nothing. Supposing a foreign government tells you that you have to give the crore you possess or your life, surely you would rather choose to part with your crore than your life.

In the same way as young men have come forward to offer their lives, the poor classes have been coming forward voluntarily and with enthusiastic spirit to offer every thing that they have. Poorer classes of Indians like watchmen, washermen, barbers, petty shopkeepers and *gowalas* have come forward with all that they have.

And in addition to that some of them have also offered to become volunteers. Some friends ask me what I mean by the word "Total Mobilisation." These poor men, who have volunteered not only their possessions, but also their lives, have demonstrated by their own example the

exact meaning of the word "Total Mobilisation".

Some of these poor people came to me, and not only did they give all the cash they had in their pockets, but went further and gave me their "Savings Bank Books" which represent their lives' savings. Is there not one rich man amongst the Indians in Malay, who can come forward and say in the same spirit "here is my bank-book" for the cause of Indian Independence ?

India as a nation believes in the ideal of self-sacrifice. Among the Hindus we have the ideal of the Sanyasins and the Muslims have the way of the Faqirs. In our history we have instances of numerous kings who chose to become Faqirs for the sake of faith, justice and truth.

Can there be a greater cause, a nobler cause and holier cause, than that of liberating 38 crores of human beings and is there not one rich man who could come and say "here is my bank book" for such a great cause ?

If you are not self-sacrificing enough to offer your lives, I cannot understand why there should not be even a few amongst you, who could say at least "Spare only our lives, and we give every thing else".

I shall now proceed to place before you the programme of the *Provisional Government* of Azad Hind. In carrying out this programme, we have to proceed slowly, steadily, and systematically as any government would do. The wealth of

Indians in Malay according to pre-war estimates was one hundred crores and as you know, values have increased since then. Usually a government makes an yearly budget and, when it is necessary, supplementary budget also, during the war. I propose to do the same thing.

It is up to you either to come forward voluntarily in the spirit of Total Mobilisation or you shall have to meet the demands made by us, from time time, till the war is over.

My first demand from Malay is for ten Crores of Rupees, which would be approximately ten percent of the value of Indian possessions in Malay. And as in this conference many rich people of Malay are present, I would expect at least. One Crore of Rupees straightaway and I hope within a month the ten crores would be forthcoming from Malay.

APPEAL TO CHUNGKING

Broadcast Address from Shanghai, delivered on November 21, 1943.

I was in Tokyo at a time when Shanghai was unified under one Municipality, one government and Mayor. There are no longer three Shanghais, there is only one Shanghai now. It is to be an indication of coming events. I have no doubt it will not be long, when the entire Chinese nation will also be unified, under one government and one leader.

From here I am on my way to my headquarters in the south. From there I shall soon be travelling to Burma and the Indian frontier. Duty calls me to Burma. I know that when we go to the Indian Frontier, to fight for Indian Independence, I shall have to fight British Troops, and probably also Chinese Troops. I do not understand why Chinese should fight for the British in India to help them preserve their domination over India. I fail to understand why a government, which is a government for the people calling itself a national government, sends its troops against a friendly country, in order to help a foreign power to continue its domination in that country !

The Indian people really sympathize with

China and the Chinese people. You know that the Indian National Congress and Indian people actually gave help to the Chungking Government. In 1938 when I was the President of the Indian National Congress, I was responsible for sending out the first medical Mission to Chungking, as a token of sympathy for the Chinese people and the Chungking Government. Later on, we sent help to Chungking in various forms of medical supplies and goods in order to actually demonstrate our sympathy. I wonder if Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek and his government today, want to return our goodwill by sending Chinese troops to India to fight against us on the side of the British !

I am sorry that the Chungking Government has been sending its troops to India. I always had the greatest sympathy for Chungking ; yet Chinese troops are coming to India to fight against us, to help British Imperialism ! In this connection, I tell you today, East Asia faces an entirely new situation—one knows one dreamed of, a few years ago. Today Nippon has adopted an entirely new policy in East Asia, demonstrated in the declaration of Independence of Burma and the Philippines and establishment of the Provisional Government of free India.

I am an Indian nationalist and revolutionist. Every Indian should be true to the cause of India and likewise every Chinese should be true to the cause of China. From my own personal know-

ledge of the path Nippon actually followed since the outbreak of the war of greater East Asia, I tell you that in view of the new situation that exists in East Asia, there is a golden opportunity for China and Chinese people.

China's only problem is unity and this problem still remains to be solved, otherwise what China desired, has already been achieved through the new policy of Nippon. In East Asia I have travelled extensively and I am in a position to form this conclusion regarding the present war-front situation. I know the war will be a long and hard one, but I am confident that in this war Britain will be defeated not only because of our chaste cause but also because Nippon is strategically favoured. Unless Britain is defeated in this war, you can never have peace in China or East Asia.

The day is not far off, when China will be under one leader. By means of an honourable peace between China and Nippon, Nippon will withdraw troops from China. There is no reason why you should wait till the end of this war for peace ; it is possible for you in the course of this war to achieve peace and to start your national re-construction and economic recovery of China.

BLESSING OF PROVIDENCE

This day, two years ago, began a new chapter in the history of East Asia. The changes that have taken place in the map of East Asia since then, and the significance of these changes for the nations of East Asia, are so well known to every body, that I need not refer to them again. Today I want to study these far-reaching changes from a different angle.

A study of history shows that the big changes in the world's history are in the nature of a wave which sweeps over the land until it reaches its farthest limit. The wave when its force is completely spent recedes. In other words, the big changes in the world's history are in the nature of expansion followed by contraction, or withdrawal. Thus the growth of British Empire consisted of expansion, beginning from Britain as its base and then going up to the far east. The last world-war represented the peak of the British Empire's growth and expansion. During the next two decades the virile force of that Empire was exhausted. With the beginning of the East Asia war, the wave of expansion that had spread to far off Hongkong began to retreat. Hence, the series of defeats beginning from Hongkong and ending in Burma! The point that now arises is, "Is it possible to

stop this retreat ? Is it possible to stop the rot and to save the Empire in the midst of its decay ? " To this, history replies in the negative ! When decline has once set in, events will follow their pre-destined course, and no power on earth can ordain otherwise. The Turkish Empire, that once upon a time spread from Constantinople right up to the gates of Vienna, had to return to its starting point. So also must be decadent British Empire returned to its base. This, to my mind, is what fate and Providence have decreed.

For India, the East Asia-war is nothing less than a blessing of Providence ! Throughout their rule in India the British have always thought of the North-West Frontier—the direction from which they imagined that the enemy would one day come. Never has any English general or diplomat thought of the eastern frontier of India ! never has any Englishman dreamt that England's enemy may suddenly appear on the eastern frontier. Contrary to all expectation and anticipation, the eastern frontier of India has now been thrown open! To go to India or to come out is, therefore, no problem today. What is even more significant is, that beyond the eastern frontier, there is a population of about three million Indians, who have eagerly seized the opportunity presented by the East Asia war. Even if the north-west frontier of India had been thrown open, it would not have been possible for Indians living abroad to bring material

and military assistance to their countrymen at home. Moreover, fortunately for India, the power that has succeeded in throwing open the eastern gates of India, is also the power that is determined to root out Anglo-American power and influence from our part of the world.

Whether others agree with me or not, I am firmly convinced that the British Empire is fighting its last battle in India. No empire has gone down without a fight. It is therefore but natural that the British will fight hard in India and that they will muster all possible help from every quarter of the Globe. But the wheels of history will grind on and they cannot be put back. The British will ultimately have to vacate India. Who will be so foolish as to think that when India is free the suppressed nations of Western Asia will go to sleep ? The Arabs, the Persians and other nations who have been groaning under British domination or pressure, will naturally seize the opportunity and take up arms against the British oppressors. In fact they are today anxiously waiting for the signal that the British retreat from India has begun ! When I say this, I am not indulging in wishful thinking. During the course of this war, I have met the leaders and representatives of the suppressed nations of Western Asia. I know how closely they are following old events and how they are awaiting the further collapse of the British Empire. They are wide awake and they will not fail to grasp the opportunity when

it comes.

In 1905, Japan successfully withstood Western aggression. After consolidating her strength for 35 years, she has now hurled back a tide which at one time had almost overwhelmed Asia. The tide of aggression is now flowing out. It is indeed an ignorant child who still thinks that in spite of all that has happened, the British Empire can still be saved. The Empire will undoubtedly go the way of other Empires of the past.

December 1941 has ushered in a new chapter in the History of Asia which is also a new chapter in the history of the World.

Syonan,
December 8, 1943.

INDIA AND IRELAND

It has given me the greatest pleasure to receive a message of felicitations from the Irish Republicans. Of all the Freedom Movements that we Indians have studied closely and from which we have derived inspiration, there is perhaps none that can equal the Irish struggle for Independence. The Irish Nation has had the same oppressors and exploiters as ourselves. It has had the same experience of ruthlessness, brutality and hypocrisy as we have. The diabolical policy of British imperialism has brought about the partition of Ireland in the past and if British Imperialism were to survive this war, a similar fate would be in store for India. In 1916, the Irish Republicans set up their Provisional Government on the eve of the Easter rebellion. In 1943, India's Freedom Fighters have set up their Provisional Government before launching their last struggle for liberty. There is so much in common between us, that it is but natural that there should be a deep bond of affinity and comradeship between the Irish Nation and ourselves.

With unparalleled heroism, tenacity and selflessness, the Irish fighters for freedom have struggled against their British tyrants for many a century. They have been overpowered at times,

but have never been broken. In particular, the fight that Irish Patriots have put up during the present century, the heights of sublime idealism and martyrdom that they have reached—constitute one of the noblest chapters in man's struggle for his birthright ! The debt of gratitude which India's patriots owe to the Irish heroes for the inspiration that they have received, is difficult to repay. In fact, it would not be the slightest exaggeration to say that among the fighters against alien imperialism whom I have had the honour of knowing personally, there are perhaps none whose friendship I cherished more than that of those brave men and women, who have uncompromisingly fought for the Irish Republic.

Sitting in a remote corner of the Globe, planning and toiling for the liberation of My Motherland, the message coming from across the seas, from Irish Republican Friends, has sent a thrill of joy and inspiration through my soul. In the midst of my manifold pre-occupations, it has brought vividly before my mind's eye, the many friendships that I made in the Emerald Isle of Eire and the secret places that I visited in the country, where many a deed of heroism and martyrdom, was enacted in the cause of Freedom.

I heartily reciprocate the message of my Irish republican friends and send herewith a word of cheer in reply. " Our cause is just. We shall therefore triumph. Freedom will come."

Syonan, 2nd November, 1943.

THE ROAD TO DELHI

From time immemorial, Delhi has been the Goal of every Army marching into India from outside—whether hostile or friendly. From time immemorial, Delhi has also been the objective of every Indian army that has sought to obtain control over the country. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that the history of India is written in stone on the plains surrounding Delhi. "He who rules Delhi, rules India"—is a saying that is common among the people in India. Indian poets, once upon a time, went even so far as to say—"The Lord of Delhi is the Lord of his World."

Unlike Rome, towards which roads converge from all directions, Delhi has always been approached from the west—or rather from the north-west. This was the lesson of history and the British, when they finally subjugated India in 1857, tried to make the best use of this lesson. At first they tried to occupy Afghanistan, in order to safeguard their Empire in India. But when all attempts to subjugate Afghanistan failed, the British tried to build up a wall of defence between Afghanistan and India.

The British have always believed instinctively in the value of propaganda. Just as in later times they gave the outside world the impression

that Singapore was an impregnable fortress, so also to an earlier day, they gave out that the north-western frontier of India was so well-fortified that it was an impassable barrier. The fact, however, was, that though the Indo-Afghan frontier was comparatively well fortified, India could have been easily attacked from the Persian side through Baluchistan ; but so long as Persia (or Iran) remained militarily a weak power, the British had nothing to fear. The principal fear was that Russia might one day attack India through Afghanistan. Hence all their fortifications were aimed chiefly at defending the Indo-Afghan Frontier against invading Army from the north-west.

So long as Czarist Russia remained an old power, British India lived in a permanent dread of Russian invasion through Afghanistan. But when the Czarist Regime broke down, they breathed a sigh of relief. On the other hand, the establishment of a Bolshevik Regime in Moscow in 1917, professing sympathy for all enslaved nations in Asia and the accession to the Afghan throne in 1919 of King Amanullah, who professed sympathy for Indian Independence, filled many Indian revolutionaries with the hope that they might get help, either from Afghanistan, or from Bolshevik Russia. Consequently in 1919 and after, many Indian revolutionaries travelled overland to Kabul and from there to Moscow, in quest of help and assistance.

King Amanullah knew that the impregnability of the north-western defences of India was but a myth and he did not hesitate to go to war against the British in India, when disputes arose between them. When the Afghan Army succeeded in breaking into India in 1919, the British made peace with the Afghanistan King on his own terms. Many years later, British intrigue got the better of King Amanullah and he had to abdicate the throne and leave the country. In 1929, the British once again breathed a sigh of relief.

Ten years later—the situation changed once again. The Soviet-German non-aggression pact in August, 1939, the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany in September of that year, brought the Russian bogey prominently before the British mind once again. Fresh fortifications were, thereupon, started on the north-west of India, with a view to repelling a possible Soviet-Russian invasion of India.

With the outbreak of war between Germany and Russia in June 1941 the feeling of panic in the British mind gave room to one of intense relief. Though for a time, there was slight anxiety over the rapid advance of the German Army towards Russian Caucasia and eventually towards Iran, the British began to feel that the Soviet-German war had saved their Empire in India !

But with the outbreak of war in East Asia, everything was turned upside down. The north-western frontier of India suddenly lost its age-

long significance and in its place, the north-eastern frontier came into the limelight. The jungles and the mountains of the Indo-Burma frontier suddenly became passable. Through and over them, roads were opened up and along these new roads, the British Governor of Burma, his satellites and his panic-stricken forces fled to Bengal and from there to Delhi !

The British Governor of Burma is now safely installed in New Delhi where he is holding his court with the help of his fellow-refugees from Burma. But he has left behind, for our use, the roads along which he and five hundred thousand men and women travelled from Burma to India.

Since his departure from Rangoon to Delhi, these roads have been improved and other new roads have been opened up. Moreover, unlike the north-western approaches to India the north-eastern passage to India can be negotiated—not only by land but also by sea and by air. Consequently, from the east and the north-east, there is today not one road to Delhi—but many such roads. All these roads will soon become handy and useful to us.

They say in Europe—" All roads lead to Rome ". Here in East Asia, all the abovementioned roads lead to India's metropolis—and to the ancient Red Fortress that lies in its bosom. Delhi is our destination and to Delhi we shall travel by many roads. There are no fortifications to bar our way, as there are on the north-western

frontier—though there are jungles and mountains—winds and waves. But Nature has been kind to us in opening up these new roads—and Nature's obstacles we shall surmount without much difficulty.

It will be a long and weary march from here to the Viceroy's House and to the Red Fortress in India's Capital. So let us lose no time. Let us gird up our loins and commence the march as soon as we can. The roads to Delhi are the roads to freedom.

APPENDIX "A"

General Tojo's Declarations, regarding the Philippines, Burma and India

....As regards Philippines, if the people of those islands will hereafter understand the real intentions of Japan and offer to co-operate with us as one of the partners for the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, Japan will gladly enable them to enjoy the honour of independence. As for Burma, what Japan contemplates is not different from that relating to the Philippines.

21st January, 1942.

....It is a golden opportunity for India having, as it does, several thousand years of history and splendid cultural tradition, to get rid herself of the ruthless despotism of Britain and participate in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Japan expects that India will restore its proper status as India for the Indians and it will not stint herself in extending assistance to the patriotic efforts of the Indians. Should India fail to awaken forgetting her history and tradition, and continue as before to be beguiled by the British cajolery and manipulation and act at their beck and call, I cannot

but fear that an opportunity for the renaissance of the Indian people would be forever lost !

16th February, 1942

As to the Indian people, Japan entertains, of course, not the slightest thought of antagonizing them. I desire, however, to reiterate clearly that the determination of Japan to crush thoroughly the American and British influences will undergo no change whatever.

Burma for the Burmese is already on its way to realisation. It is my firm belief that now is the time to establish India for the Indians, which has for many years been the aspiration of the four hundred million Indian people.

Great Britain has for a long time deceived and continued her arbitrary rule over India. What was the ridiculous fate of the British Promise made to India in the last Great War, must be still fresh, I believe, in the memory of the Indian people ! Now Great Britain is trying again to deceive India with all sorts of cajolery. If the leaders of India, misled by such British cajoleries, betray the long cherished aspirations of the Indian people and thus fling away this heaven-sent opportunity, I believe there will be no chance of saving India forever and there will be no greater misfortune befalling the 400 million Indian people.

Will India rise as "India for the Indians" to have the honour of co-operating for the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity

Sphere, or will she permanently stoop under the shackles of the Anglo-American Powers to leave her name as a slave to posterity ? She is now face to face with the time, when she could liquidate her past, see the new situation correctly and make her final decision.

12th March, 1942

APPENDIX B

Message of congratulations from General Tojo to the meeting of the Committee of Representatives

On the occasion of welcoming the great leader Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Indian Independence League in East Asia holds a meeting of committee of Representatives of Indians in East Asia at Sygon, which has been liberated from British bondage. With this welcome to Subhas Bose, you are taking a long stride towards decisive action with renewed vigour and grim determination to achieve India's independence.

On this occasion, I extend my most sincere congratulations, because it is happy augury not only for India but for East Asia.

Since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, the Imperial Japanese Army have annihilated the enemy whenever he was found, and within a short time, battered all the Anglo-American strategical points in this part of Asia.

At the same time, the bonds of unity among Japan, Manchukuo, China and Thailand have been strengthened, and they are irresistibly advancing towards the goal of the establishment of this sphere of co-prosperity in East Asia.

With unshakable faith in the ultimate victory

and triumph of justice for which Japan is fighting, the accumulated wrongs and mis-deeds of the British are going to be wiped out. Thus the brilliant dawn of greater East Asia has arrived.

This is the golden opportunity for India to liberate herself and such a rare opportunity will never occur again.

With the outbreak of the greater East Asia War, Indian Nationalists in India rose against their British rulers, and India has thus already attained its spiritual independence.

The British Empire, which is gasping for a last breath, will in desperation, choose any means to put off the day of their impending doom, and America is also stretching its devilish hands towards India.

In a situation like this, it is by no means an easy task for Indians to achieve India's complete independence ; but four hundred million Indians should unite into once solid body and win their own freedom and independence with their own blood and toil.

The sincere wish of Nippon, for the fulfilment of India's long cherished ambition of "India for Indians", has been proved beyond doubt, by the repeated declarations of the government of Nippon.

Nippon is inflexibly determined to exhaust all her means to help India in achieving her independence which is the earnest desire of all Indians.

It is Nippon's sincere wish that the active movement for the achievement of India's independence must be intensified both inside and outside India, and Anglo-American forces must be driven out of every corner of India as early as possible.

The world situation is becoming more complicated, and taking advantage of this, Anglo-American enemies will no doubt intensify their intrigues.

Traditionally Nippon is a country which invariably keeps faith where friends trust each other, and so is India.

I sincerely wish that Indians will not be deceived by Anglo-American intrigues and miss the God-sent opportunity to win their freedom. I trust that Indians, with firm faith in Nippon's victory, will fight for justice and righteousness shoulder to shoulder with us.

I firmly believe that this is the only way that Indians can hasten the Glorious Day of their Freedom, and I sincerely wish them every success in their brave fight.

APPENDIX C

Text of the speech delivered by His Excellency Dr. Ba Maw

Mr. Bose and friends, I can assure you that it gives us very great pleasure to be with you on an occasion like this.

As a great leader has spoken just now, I recall this battle call to you "To Delhi." Yes, if that is your battle call, if you are marching to Delhi, it is befitting that you shall gather together at the tomb of the last great Indian Emperor, the last man who represented the Delhi Dynasty. It is befitting that you should come to a sacred place like this, to seek inspiration and strengthen your great enterprise. We, Indians and Burmans, have under tragic circumstances, lost touch with our past history. It is our duty to maintain this contact with the past. It is therefore right that whenever an occasion arises we should go back to the past and go back to our national memories ; for there lies our true heritage.

We Burmans attach a great deal of importance to certain sacred spots, to certain victory-bringing earth as in Shwebo. I hope for you Indians this earth will bring victory ; as Burmans believe that this sacred earth in Shwebo,—if we march across it,—will surely bring success to any

enterprise.

While your leader on behalf of the Indian community has been good enough to donate two and a half lacs to any Burmese cause worthy of such charity, I accept it in the spirit in which he has offered it to us. In these days when you have a great task a-head of you, I could realise the importance of Finance. I know that two and a half lakhs, although your leader may have described it as a small and trivial sum, is not small and trivial. It is an important sum from the point of view of your very great and difficult as well as expensive task.

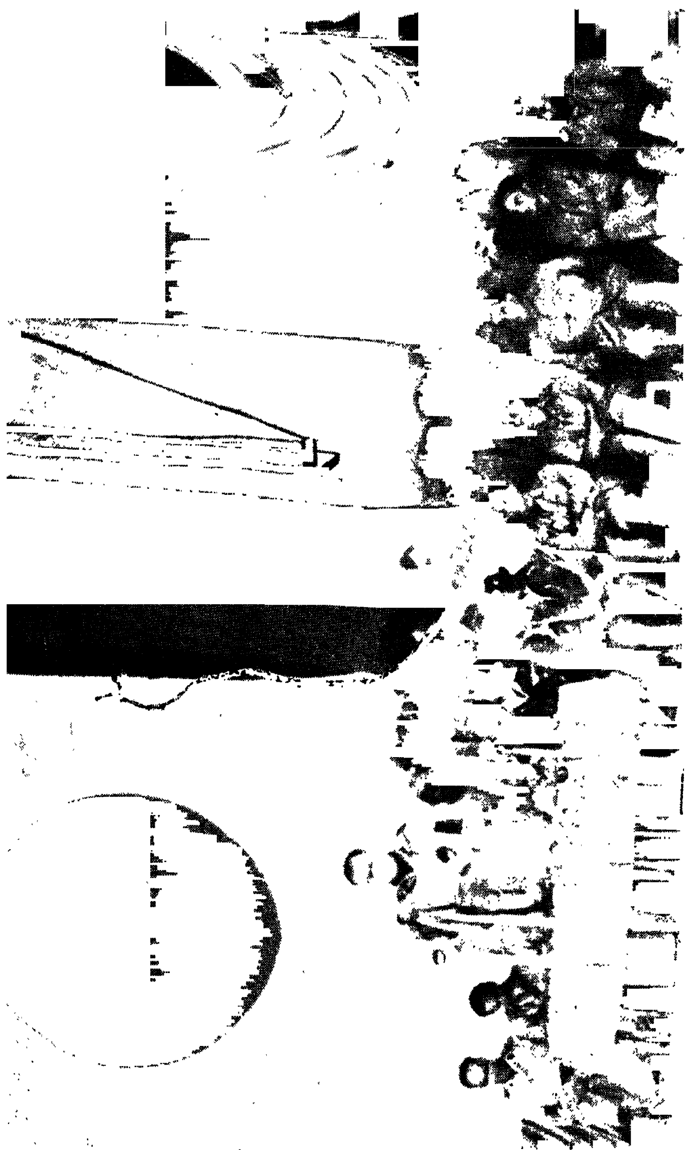
I know that when you are nursing a movement like yours, when you are getting ready for a colossal march to India, to Delhi, a sum like this represents in a real sense a certain sacrifice on your part and if I accept it from you, it is as a token of your deep appreciation of Burma, and of your sympathy for the Burmans, who have suffered in this war.

It is a deep appreciation of your generosity and therefore I say, your love for this country, and it is therefore in that spirit that I return to you my deep thanks for the gift.

I wish to join you and I am certain, members of my government also wish to join you, in paying reverence to this last great Hero of past India. We Burmans will march with you in that spirit, we Burmans will be with you and follow the spirit of Bahadur Shah which I am sure will

go marching on, and led by the spirit of the last great Delhi Emperor, you will surely return to India.

It is my firm conviction that the past and the present can together capture the future. The present without the past is not helpful as much as the past without the present is dead. Therefore as I have said, I appreciate it and I am glad that you have come to the sacred piece of land that reminds you of a great past. If you follow your past leader, as I am sure, you will follow your present great leader, victory will be yours and India will be independent as surely as Burma today is independent.



APPENDIX D

Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind

After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. History of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And, in the pages of that history, the names of Sirajuddoula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haiderali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Tampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Attarwala of Punjab and last, but not least, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tatya Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib among others—the names of these warriors are for ever engraved in letters of Gold. Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they have therefore not put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation, they made a concerted move—and under the flag of Bahadur Shah, in 1857 they fought their last war as free men. In spite

of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war, ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless, such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tatya Topi, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib, live like eternal stars in the Nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, Indian people lay prostrate for a while—but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 till the end of the old War, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods—namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage—and finally, armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately, in 1920, when the Indian people, haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, M. Gandhi came forward with a new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

For two decades thereafter, the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer, sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the remotest villages, the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus the Indian

people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministers in eight Provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs.

Thus on the eve of the present world war, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation. During the course of this war, Germany, with the help of her allies, has dealt shattering blows to our enemies in Europe—while Nippon, with the help of her allies has inflicted a knockout blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a most happy combination of circumstances, Indian people today have a wonderful opportunity for achieving their National emancipation.

For the first time in History, Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organization. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home, but are also marching in step with them, along the path to freedom. In East Asia in particular, over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx, inspired by the slogans of "Total Mobilisation". And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation, with the slogan "Onward to Delhi", on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home and also of a large section of Britain's Indian Army, and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad—but relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that dawn of Freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian Leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed—it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for Freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation (i.e., the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian

National Army) organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Govt. of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of her freedom, of her welfare, and her exaltation, among the nations of the world.

It will be the task of the Provisional Govt. to launch and conduct this struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Govt. to bring about the establishment of the permanent National Govt. of Azad Hind, constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a permanent national Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claim, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation equally,

and transcending all the differences, cunningly fostered, by an alien Government in the past.

In the name of God and in the name of bygone generations, who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice—we call upon Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's Freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute the struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in Final Victory—until the enemies are expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.
